Srinagar Burushaski

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Brill's Studies in South and Southwest Asian Languages

Series Editors

John Peterson (*University of Kiel*)
Shobhana Chelliah (*University of North Texas*)

Editorial Board

Anvita Abbi (*Jawaharlal Nehru University*)
Balthasar Bickel (*University of Zurich*)
George Cardona (*University of Pennsylvania*)
Carol Genetti (*University of California, Santa Barbara*)
Geoffrey Haig (*University of Bamberg*)
Gilbert Lazard (*CNRS & École Pratique des Hautes Études*)
Harold F. Schiffman (*University of Pennsylvania*)
Udaya Narayana Singh (*Visva-Bharati University, Shantiniketan, India*)

VOLUME 11

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/bssal*

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Srinagar Burushaski

A Descriptive and Comparative Account with Analyzed Texts

By

Sadaf Munshi

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at http://catalog.loc.gov

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1877-4083
ISBN 978-90-04-38452-1 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-38789-8 (e-book)

Copyright 2019 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Contents

Acknowledgements IX
List of Tables, Figures and Maps XI
Representation of Sounds XIII
Symbols and Abbreviations XVI
Maps XVIII

1 **Introduction** 1
1.1 Background 2
1.1.1 *Demographic and Ethnographic Information* 2
1.1.2 *Genetic Classification* 3
1.1.3 *Available Literature* 4
1.1.4 *Linguistic and Typological Features Characteristic of Burushaski* 5
1.2 Emergence of Srinagar Burushaski 8
1.2.1 *Socio-historical Background* 9
1.2.2 *Linguistic Situation and Multilingualism* 12
1.2.3 *Linguistic Outcomes of Contact: A Brief Summary* 14
1.3 Database and Methodology 15
1.4 Transcription Key 17
1.5 Organization of the Book 18

2 **Phonology** 19
2.1 Phonemic Inventory 19
2.1.1 *Consonants and Phonemics of Consonants* 19
2.1.2 *Vowels and Phonemics of Vowels* 32
2.2 Syllable Structure 35
2.2.1 *Types of Syllables* 36
2.2.2 *Phonotactics* 38
2.3 Basic Stress Pattern 45
2.3.1 *Basic Stress Generalizations* 45
2.4 Phonological Processes 51
2.4.1 *Consonantal Assimilation* 52
2.4.2 *Final Neutralization of Obstruents* 56
2.4.3 *Sandhi* (*Vowel Assimilation*) 61
2.4.4 *Glide Insertion* 62
2.4.5 *Vowel Harmony* 63
2.4.6 *Voice Alternation in Consonants* 65
2.5 Conclusion 66

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

3 Morpho-Syntax 68
3.1 Constituent Order Typology 68
3.1.1 *Word Order in Main Clauses* 69
3.1.2 *Typology of the Verb Component* 75
3.1.3 *Noun Phrase* 79
3.1.4 *Postpositional Phrase* 84
3.2 Grammatical Relations, Case, and Agreement 87
3.2.1 *Verb Classes and Agreement Patterns* 87
3.2.2 *Postpositions and Oblique NPs* 103
3.3 Question Formation 110
3.3.1 *Yes-No Questions* 110
3.3.2 Wh-*Questions* 112
3.4 Clause Combination 115
3.4.1 *Coordination* 119
3.4.2 *Complementation* 121
3.4.3 *Relative Clause Formation* 124
3.4.4 *Adverbial Clauses* 128
3.5 Non-Finite Clausal Constructions 131

4 Nominals and Nominal Inflection 135
4.1 Nouns and Noun Classes 135
4.2 Number 141
4.3 Case 145
4.4 Personal Pronouns 148
4.5 Possessability of Nouns 149
4.5.1 *Body Parts* 149
4.5.2 *Kinship Terms* 151
4.5.3 *Other Inherently Possessed Nouns* 153
4.6 Modifiers 153
4.6.1 *Adjectives* 154
4.6.2 *Numerals* 154
4.6.3 *Demonstratives and Relative Pronouns* 156

5 Verb Morphology 158
5.1 Morphology of the Verb Component 158
5.2 Morphology of the Verb 'Be' 164
5.3 *D*-Prefix Verbs 168
5.4 Causative Verbs 171
5.5 Negation 175

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

5.6 Imperatives and Prohibitives 177
5.7 Participial Forms 181
5.8 Optatives 185
5.9 Presumptive, Potential, and Dubitative Moods 186

6 Derivational Morphology 190
6.1 Suffixation 190
6.2 Compounding 194
6.3 Reduplication 200

7 Dialectal Comparison 206
7.1 Phonological Differences 206
7.1.1 *Phonological Differences between Yasin and Other Dialects* 206
7.1.2 *Phonological Differences between Hunza and Nagar/Srinagar Dialects* 210
7.1.3 *Phonological Differences between SB and Other Dialects* 214
7.1.4 *Morphophonological Differences* 217
7.2 Lexical Differences 219
7.3 Morpho-Syntactic Differences 221
7.3.1 *Nominal Inflection* 221
7.3.2 *Verbal Inflection* 225
7.3.3 *Compounds* 229
7.3.4 *Variation in Reduplication Strategies* 230
7.3.5 *Structural Innovation: Calquing of Tag Questions in SB* 231
7.3.6 *Dialectal Differences in Clause Combination* 233

Appendix: Sample Texts 239
References 299
Index 303

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Acknowledgements

A major portion of this work is based on a selection of chapters from my doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Texas at Austin (2006). To achieve a closer look at the dialect of Burushaski spoken in Srinagar and for an improved quality and clarity of content, I have fairly extensively revised the selected chapters and added a number of sections, including an appendix with a linguistically analyzed collection of texts (not in the doctoral dissertation). Sections or chapters of the dissertation not included were either not relevant for this study or have already been published.

I am grateful to all the people who have contributed to and assisted in completing this work. First and foremost I would like to thank the members of the Burushaski community in Srinagar without whose participation and continued support this study would not have been possible. In particular, I am very thankful to (late) Raja Safdar Ali Khan (Master-Ji), Raja Jamsheed Ali Khan, Raja Mehboob Ali Khan, Raja Majid, Raja Tasleem Khan, Mimi, Ruqsana, and Hasina – my language consultants who have played a major role in assisting me in data collection, transcription, and analyses over the years. I am especially indebted to Master-Ji for his relentless support and unwavering commitment during my fieldwork in Srinagar. I want to thank his family, especially, Mimi, Ruqsana, Hasina, Huma, Asiya, and Azra, for making me feel at home during the numerous sessions of data collection, transcription, translation and analyses. I am also grateful to other members of the community, especially Raja Majid Khan, Zulfikar Ali, Raja Nazim Khan, (late) Raja Ayub Khan, Salma, Raziya, Rashida, Gulzar Auntie, Shaheen, and many others for providing me with very rich and useful data and participating in various discussions on the Burushaski language and culture. I also thank (late) Dr. Nasir-ud-din Nasir Hunzai, Ruhi Hunzai, Amin-ud-din Hunzai, Piar Karim, Muhammad Wazir Khan and Naseema Bano of Pakistan for their assistance in collecting and analyzing the data from the Pakistani varieties of Burushaski – an essential part of this research as far as the linguistic comparisons are concerned.

My thanks go to my former professors at the University of Texas at Austin, and my friends and colleagues at the University of North Texas for their useful comments, constructive criticisms, and valuable suggestions on the earlier drafts. Among these, I am especially thankful to Anthony Woodbury (my thesis supervisor), Megan Crowhurst, Ian Hancock, and Keith Walters of UT Austin for their guidance on my dissertation. I am thankful to my colleagues Willem de Reuse, Haj (John Robert) Ross, and Shobhana Chelliah. Thanks are also due to two unnamed reviewers for their constructive criticism and useful

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

suggestions on the previous drafts of the book. I would also like to thank Tyler Utt for pointing out even the minutest of the mistakes in the proofs.

My family and friends have acted as pillars of support and encouragement for this entire project and for acting as a strong source of inspiration and an energizing force leading me to accomplish this goal. I wish to thank my brothers, Fazal and Sameer, for their help during my fieldwork in Srinagar. My special thanks to my parents, Abul Hassan and Syeda, for being there at every step of my life and for their love and kind support. I wish to express my deep-felt gratitude to Tasaduq, my spouse, for his unending love, unrelenting support, and persistent encouragement. Finally, I wish to thank my two children – my son Anoush and my daughter Urooj – for their patience and cooperation during the numerous hours of work, whether at home or elsewhere.

The research presented here was funded by: a Liberal Arts Graduate Research Fellowship from the University of Texas at Austin (2003), a National Science Foundation's Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant (2004; award ID 0418333), an intramural grant from the University of North Texas (2008), and a grant from the National Science Foundation's Documentation of Endangered Languages program (2010; award ID 0965799).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Tables, Figures and Maps

Tables

1 Consonantal phonemes 19
2 Stop consonants 21
3 Affricate consonants 24
4 Fricative consonants 26
5 Vowel phonemes 32
6 Personal pronouns and personal possessor pronouns 148
7 Pronominal prefixes for inherently possessed nouns 149
8 Numerals based on different noun classes 155
9 Demonstratives and relative pronouns 157
10 Verb stems 159
11 Present and past tense forms for the verb 'to be' 164

Figures

1 Structure of the verb component 75
2 Structure of the noun phrase 79
3 Structure of the noun 81
4 Structure of coordinating clauses 119
5 Structure of a complementizer clause 122
6 Structure of a relative-correlative construction 124
7 Structure of a typical adverbial clause 128
8 Classification of nouns 136
9 Structure of a typical [noun + noun] compound noun 195
10 Structure of a complex [noun + noun] compound noun 196
11 Structure of a complex [adjective + noun] compound noun 197
12 Structure of a complex [noun + noun] compound noun 198

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Maps

1 Map of Jammu & Kashmir XVIII
2 Map of India showing the location of Srinagar XIX
3 Map of Pakistan showing the location of Gilgit district in the Northern Areas region XIX
4 Northern Areas (Pakistan) reference map for Gilgit District showing Yasin, Hunza and Nagar valleys XX

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Representation of Sounds

Following is a list of all the symbols used for transcription in this study along with their IPA counterparts and phonetic descriptions:

Symbol	IPA equivalent	Description
Vowels		
i	i	High front unrounded vowel (short)
ii	iː	High front unrounded vowel (long)
u	u	High back rounded vowel (short)
uu	uː	High back rounded vowel (long)
e	e	Mid front unrounded vowel (short)
ee	eː	Mid front unrounded vowel (long)
o	o	Mid back rounded vowel (short)
oo	oː	Mid back rounded vowel (long)
a	a	Low central unrounded vowel (short)
aa	aː	Low central unrounded vowel (long)
Stops		
p	p	Voiceless bilabial stop (unaspirated)
pʰ	pʰ	Voiceless bilabial stop (aspirated)
b	b	Voiced bilabial stop
t	t̪	Voiceless dental stop (unaspirated)
tʰ	t̪ʰ	Voiceless dental stop (aspirated)
d	d̪	Voiced dental stop
ṭ	ʈ	Voiceless retroflex stop (unaspirated)
ṭʰ	ʈʰ	Voiceless retroflex stop (aspirated)
ḍ	ɖ	Voiced retroflex stop
k	k	Voiceless velar stop (unaspirated)
kʰ	kʰ	Voiceless velar stop (aspirated)
g	g	Voiced velar stop
q	q	Voiceless uvular stop

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Table (*cont.*)

Symbol	IPA equivalent	Description
Affricates		
c	t͡s	Voiceless dental affricate (unaspirated)
cʰ	t͡sʰ	Voiceless dental affricate (aspirated)
ç	ʈ͡ʂ	Voiceless retroflex affricate (unaspirated)
çʰ	ʈ͡ʂʰ	Voiceless retroflex affricate (aspirated)
č	t͡ʃ	Voiceless alveo-palatal affricate (unaspirated)
čʰ	t͡ʃh	Voiceless alveo-palatal affricate (aspirated)
ǰ	d͡ʒ	Voiced alveo-palatal affricate
Fricatives		
f	f	Voiceless labio-dental fricative
v	v	Voiced labio-dental fricative
s	s	Voiceless alveolar fricative
z	z	Voiced alveolar fricative
ṣ	ʂ	Voiceless retroflex fricative
ẓ	ʐ	Voiced retroflex fricative
š	ʃ	Voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
x	x	Voiceless velar fricative
ɣ	ɣ	Voiced velar fricative
h	h	Voiceless glottal fricative
Nasals		
m	m	Bilabial nasal
n	n	Alveolar nasal
ŋ	ŋ	Velar nasal

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Table (*cont.*)

Symbol	IPA equivalent	Description
Approximants		
r	ɹ	Alveolar approximant/vibrant
l	l	Lateral approximant/liquid
y	j	Palatal approximant
ɻ	ɻ	Retroflex approximant

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Symbols and Abbreviations

Following is a list of all the symbols and abbreviations used for glossing in this study:

1/2/3	First/Second/Third Person
I/II	Non-human noun classes I/II
+/–H, +/–h	+/– human (noun class)
A	Agent
ABS	Absolutive (Case)
CONJ	Conjunction
DAT	Dative (Case)
DM	Discourse Marker
DO	Direct Object
EMPH	Emphasis
ERG	Ergative/Agent (Case)
F	(Human) Female/Feminine
GEN	Genitive (Case)
IMP	Imperative (Mood)
INF	Infinitive
IO	Indirect Object
IPFV	Imperfective (Aspect)
LOC	Locative
M	(Human) Male/Masculine
n	Noun
NDEF	Indefinite
Neg/NEG	Negation/Negative category
NEG_{Tag}	Tag-question-forming negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer (Adjective Marker)
O	Object
OBL	Oblique (Case)
OPT	Optative (Mood) = Desiderative (Mood)
Onom.	Onomatopoeia
P	Patient
PFV	Perfective Aspect
PL	Plural
PN	Proper Noun/Name
PRES	Present (Tense)
PST	Past (Tense)
PTCL	Particle

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

PTCP	Participle
QM	Question Marker
RED	Reduplicated Form
R.Pro/Rel.Pro	Relative Pronoun
S	Subject
SG	Singular
v/V	Verb

Following is a list of abbreviations used for languages in this study:

Bur.	Burushaski
Eng.	English
H.	Hindi
HB	Hunza Burushaski
K.	Kashmiri
NB	Nagar Burushaski
Per.	Persian
SB	Srinagar Burushaski
Sh.	Shina
Sk.	Sanskrit
Ur.	Urdu
YB	Yasin Burushaski

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Maps

MAP 1 Map of Jammu & Kashmir (including regions controlled by India, Pakistan, and China)
SOURCE: HTTPS://LEGACY.LIB.UTEXAS.EDU/MAPS/MIDDLE_EAST_AND_ASIA/KASHMIR_REL_2003.JPG

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

MAP 2
Map of India showing the location of Srinagar
SOURCE: HTTP://WWW.LIB.UTEXAS.EDU/MAPS/CIA05/INDIA_SM05.GIF

MAP 3
Map of Pakistan showing the location of Gilgit district in the Northern Areas region
SOURCE: HTTP://WWW.LIB.UTEXAS.EDU/MAPS/CIA05/PAKISTAN_SM05.GIF

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

MAP 4 Northern Areas (Pakistan) reference map for Gilgit District showing Yasin, Hunza, and Nagar valleys

SOURCE: HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:GILGIT-BALTISTAN_MAP_WITH_TEHSILS_LABELLED.PNG

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

There are two main objectives of this study. The first is to provide a structural description of a lesser-known regional variety of Burushaski spoken in Srinagar, the summer capital of the Indian-administered state of Jammu & Kashmir (see Map 1 and Map 2). The description provides a comprehensive and systematic account of various structural features in terms of the phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax of Srinagar Burushaski (This variety of Burushaski has been referred to as "Jammu & Kashmir Burushaski" in Munshi 2010). The second objective of the study is to provide a description and analysis of some major changes in Srinagar Burushaski, and the differences between this and the other regional dialects based on the contemporary spoken language samples.

Despite being a relatively small speech community, the Burushos (speakers of the Burushaski language) that the author discovered in Srinagar about 16 years ago in 2002, constitute a sociolinguistic community that fulfills all contemporary definitions of a "speech community". These Burushos have lived in Srinagar for a long time, speaking a language which different Kashmiris would know by different and often incorrect names. Since they lost contact, more than a century ago, with their parent community in what is now Pakistan, their language has undergone several changes which make this variety of Burushaski systematically different from the dialects of Burushaski spoken in Hunza, Nagar and Yasin valleys in Pakistan.[1] The impetus for conducting a study on the Burushaski language in the valley of Kashmir came from the realization that the community, admittedly invisible (roughly 300 or more speakers) within the broader Kashmiri society of about 5 million speakers, has succeeded in maintaining a separate identity – social and linguistic, over a long period of time. Having lived in Srinagar for over a century and being an integral part of the Kashmiri society, especially in the social hierarchy of the Shi'ite Muslims of the valley, the Srinagar Burushos have withstood the pressures of linguistic assimilation and successfully overcome the danger of language loss to this date. Whether and how long this trend will continue is a question for future investigation.

1 Note that Nagar is sometimes spelt as "Nagir", "Nager" or "Nagyr" in the literature.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2019 | DOI:10.1163/9789004387898_002
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

1.1 Background

1.1.1 *Demographic and Ethnographic Information*

Burushaski is mainly spoken in the Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin valleys in Pakistan. Hunza, Nagar and Yasin valleys are located in the Gilgit-Baltistan (formerly known as "Northern Areas") region and are situated north of Gilgit in northern Pakistan (see Map 3 and Map 4) – a region stretching between South and Central Asia. There are no official figures available on the total number of Burushaski speakers in Pakistan. Based on the government census figures of 1981, Backstrom (1992) had estimated the total number of Burushaski speakers in all areas of Pakistan then to be 55,000–60,000 (i.e., 18–22,000 in Hunza, slightly more than that in Nagar, and about 15,000 or more in Yasin; Backstrom 1992: 36–37). Similar figures were given by Anderson (1997: 1022), i.e., approximately 50–60,000 Burushos. The *Ethnologue* (Simon & Fennig ed., 2017) reports about 96,800 speakers of Burushaski in Pakistan in the year 2004. Based on personal communication with the native speakers of different dialects of Burushaski, this study estimates the total number of Burushaski speakers in different regions of Pakistan to be around 100,000 or more. A few thousand have migrated to cities such as Gilgit, Islamabad and Karachi seeking employment and educational opportunities.

There are distinct differences in terms of vocabulary, morpho-syntax and pronunciation between the Yasin variety (sometimes referred to as "Werchikwar") on the one hand, and the Hunza and Nagar varieties on the other.[2] The latter two have been claimed to be sub-dialects of one variety (see Varma 1941: 133–157). Yasin is geographically separated from the other dialects by many miles of rugged mountainous terrain. The different dialects are mutually intelligible to varying degrees. According to a native speaker of Hunza Burushaski, "if two people, speaking Yasin and Hunza dialects [in Gilgit city], wish to communicate using their distinct varieties, they can easily communicate. But, that is very rare. They either switch to one of the two dialects for communication or they use Urdu." (Piar Karim, p.c.). This implies a degree of bidialectal proficiency in at least some speakers who live in the city. Lexical similarity between Nagar and Hunza dialects, according to the *Ethnologue* (Simon & Fennig ed., 2017), is 91 %–94 %, between Yasin and Hunza it is 67 %–72 %, and between Yasin and Nagar 66 %–71 %. In fact some people

2 The Yasin variety is strongly influenced by Khowar. The name "Werchikwar" is originally from Khowar *warčikwar* [warčikwar] which breaks down into *warč-* = 'Burush' (or the Burusho people) plus the Khowar suffixes *-ik-* 'place of' + *-war* 'language', as also in *kʰowar* < /kʰo-+-war/ 'the language of Kho' (see Anderson 1997: 1021).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

have even claimed that the Yasin variety may be a separate language, although this does not seem to be the general perception. As far as mutual intelligibility and ideological factors are concerned, the Yasin variety is perhaps simply a more conservative dialect of Burushaski. Unlike other dialects of Burushaski, the studies on the Srinagar variety are fairly recent. This variety, which is closely related to the Nagar dialect, is characterized by features which qualify it for an independent descriptive study.

Additional names of the Burushaski language used in the literature are Brushaski, Burucaski, Khajuna, and Kunjut (ibid.) A term "Biltum", also included in the list, was confirmed to be an erroneous usage based on a Yasin Burushaski phrase *belṭum baa* meaning 'how are you?' often used as a greeting (Muhammad Wazir, p.c.). Some exonyms used for the language are disliked by native Burushos. Thus, the term "Khajuna" (pronounced as [kʰaǰuna]), often used for Nagar Burushaski, is perceived as a derogatory term by the speakers of this dialect (Naseema Bano, p.c.). Interestingly, when the author first contacted the Burushaski speech community in Srinagar in 2003, some older male members referred to their language as "Khajuna", pointing to the fact that Srinagar Burushaski has descended from Nagar Burushaski, as also confirmed by the native speakers. Many speakers of Srinagar Burushaski, especially the younger generation, did not know the popular name of their language, i.e., "Burushaski". Most members, especially older speakers, used the term *mišaaski* 'our language' (*mi-* = 'our') – an in-group term speakers use to refer to their language when talking among themselves. This is also the popular in-group term for the language among Burushos of the other dialects. According to a native speaker of Yasin Burushaski, the term *burušaaski* literally means 'the Burusho way' (Qimat Khan, p.c.). The term is arguably based on two morphemes: *buruš* 'Burusho' and *šaaski* 'way/side' (cf. *ɣamušaaski* 'left side' and *domošaaski* 'right side' in Yasin Burushaski).

The Burushos of Srinagar are often mistaken for Kashmiris, especially because they live amidst a Kashmiri-speaking majority. Many of them speak fluent Kashmiri in addition to Burushaski and Urdu. According to the members of the speech community, approximately 300 or more Burushos lived in Srinagar at the time when fieldwork for this study began in 2003. The number is assumed to have remained roughly steady given new births, deaths and exogamous marriages in this small and tight-knit community. Most of the members are from families that are either closely or distantly related to each other.

1.1.2 *Genetic Classification*

The linguistic classification and genetic affiliations of Burushaski have been heavily debated in the literature. Many studies have attempted to explain the

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

linguistic origins of Burushaski comparing it with different languages, but a fully convincing relationship has so far not been established. According to Bengtson (1991–1998), Burushaski would belong to a "Macro-Caucasian" (or "Sino-Caucasian") phylum of languages under the proposed "Dene-Caucasian" macrophylum – a transcontinental branch, consisting of Basque, the languages spoken in Daghestan, the North-West Caucasian languages, and Burushaski itself. Starostin (1984, 1991) proposed a macrophylum linking the Sino-Tibetan, Yeniseian, and Caucasian languages. George van Driem (2001) has attempted to revive a link between Burushaski and Yeniseian in a family he calls *Karasuk*. He believes the Burushos were part of the migration out of Central Asia that resulted in the Indo-European conquest of India. Tuite (1998: 467) "argues for 'quasi-genetic resemblances' between Burushaski and the Northeast Caucasian languages" (quoted in Bashir, 2000: 1). Čašule (1998, 2004, 2010, 2014) has attempted to establish links between Indo-European, more specifically its Paleo-Balkanic branch, and Burushaski. He proposes that Burushaski is either related to or influenced by a non-Indo-Aryan "Southern" subgroup of Indo-European which, he claims, includes Phrygian and Thracian, and by Balto-Slavic. Few of these studies provide any conclusive evidence for a genetic relationship between Burushaski and an existing language.[3]

1.1.3 *Available Literature*

Burushaski has been a language of great fascination for linguists and scholars across the world for several decades. A host of studies in German, French and English have been published on the language. A majority of the available literature deals with the Burushaski language and society in Pakistan. Biddulph (1880; reprinted in 1971 and 1977) and Leitner (1889) represent the earliest attempts to describe the language.[4] Both studies were primarily based on the Nagar dialect. Zarubin (1927) is a description of Yasin Burushaski. Varma (1941), which is perhaps the first piece of work on Burushaski dialectology, provides a

3 The analogies offered by some of these studies could possibly be attributed to a relatively recent approach to the genetic classification of languages based on the "Nostratic" reconstruction which argues for a common linguistic base for language families as diverse as Indo-European, Kartvelian, Altaic, Uralic, Dravidian, Afro-Asiatic, and perhaps some other language groups. "Nostratic" is the name given to a language hypothesized to be the common ancestor of all these languages families (Salmons & Joseph 1998: 1–11).

4 Biddulph's description includes a brief grammatical sketch of Nagar dialect. There are several inaccuracies in his description. Linguistic transcription is largely based on English spelling conventions which are not always phonetically accurate. Some morphological paradigms are also incorrect.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

comparative analysis of the Hunza and Nagar sub-dialects. Backstrom (1992) is a general account on the knowledge and history of Burushaski language and people and the sociolinguistic position of Burushos with respect to other social and linguistic groups in Pakistan. It also contains information on the dialectal variation based on studying the relationship between the dialects by a wordlist comparison. A standard list of 210 words elicited from several locations in the Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin valleys is also included in this study.[5] Holst (2014) investigates some important aspects in the historical development of Burushaski.

Some of the important synchronic studies on Burushaski grammar and lexicon are Lorimer (1935–38) on Hunza Burushaski, Berger (1974) on Yasin Burushaski, Tiffou & Pesot (1989) on Yasin Burushaski, and Berger (1998) on Hunza and Nagar Burushaski. Lorimer's work (1935–38), one of the greatest and earliest contributions to the studies on Burushaski, remained the only definitive and widely accessed authority on the language for a long time, despite many inaccuracies from a broad linguistic point of view. The study is mainly based on the Hunza dialect of Burushaski, although some notes on Nagar Burushaski are also included. Berger (1998), however, replaced Lorimer's work as the standard work of reference on the Hunza and Nagar dialects. It follows the same pattern as Lorimer (1935–38), consisting of three parts: Burushaski grammar, texts, and dictionary (volumes I, II, and III, respectively). Tiffou's 1993 book provides a large corpus of Hunza proverbs preceded by a very brief introductory chapter on the grammar of Burushaski. Anderson (1997) is a description of Burushaski phonology. Grune (1998) provides a brief account of Burushaski grammar based on the Yasin dialect.[6]

1.1.4 *Linguistic and Typological Features Characteristic of Burushaski*

An SOV language, Burushaski shares many areal features with its neighboring languages. Some linguistic and typological features characteristic of the language are:

a. A rich inventory of *retroflex* consonants (consonants pronounced with the tip of the tongue curled up) such as *ç, ç^h, ṣ, ẓ* and *ɻ*, a uvular stop consonant *q* and velar fricative consonants *x* and *ɣ* (see the preliminary

5 The same list was also used by Backstrom for some other languages in northern Pakistan.

6 There are some inaccuracies in Grune's work. The phonemic inventory is incomplete. For example, unaspirated versus aspirated distinctions in palatal, dental and retroflex affricates are missing. Thus, the pairs *č* vs. *č^h, c* vs. *c^h*, and *ç* vs *ç^h* have been collapsed into *č, c*, and *ç* respectively.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

matter for a pronunciation key for the symbols used in the transcriptions in this study). Some, but not all, of these sounds are found in neighboring languages, such as Dardic Khowar, Shina, and Kohistani.[7] These consonants are absent in Urdu, Hindi, Kashmiri, Punjabi, and many Indo-Aryan/Indic languages spoken further south and east.[8]

b. A large number of different plural-marking suffixes (as many as 15 to 20).
c. A rich morphology and agreement system; agreement features for Ergative as well as Absolutive arguments are simultaneously expressed on the verb when both are present in a sentence.
d. Distinction into inherently possessed as opposed to non-inherently possessed nouns; inherently possessed nouns include body parts, kinship terms and some other nouns.
e. A four-fold classification of nouns: [+Human] vs. [–Human]; among humans, Male vs. Female; and among non-humans, Class I and Class II (see chapter 4 for more on this).[9] These are differently expressed in nouns and verbs for agreement patterns.
f. A unique way of signifying kinship terms, very different from those of the neighboring languages and cultures.

The language as a whole has a complex morphological system, especially its verb morphology. Inflectional processes include both suffixation and prefixation.[10] Suffixes and prefixes may appear on nouns as well as verbs and perform a number of grammatical functions. One of the most interesting areas of the language is its complex nominal inflection – a reason why Burushaski nouns and noun inflection have received the special focus of many scholars interested in the language. Both nominal and verbal morphology of the language are very different from those of most neighboring languages. For example, inherently possessed nouns are distinguishable from non-inherently possessed

7 The term "Dardic" is used for a group of languages of Indo-Iranian origin spoken in northern Pakistan and northwest of Jammu & Kashmir in India – the region is sometimes referred to as "Dardistan" in the literature. As a result of language contact, the languages share a number of features with each other which are characteristic of the group.

8 For all practical purposes Hindi and Urdu are the same language except that Hindi is a sociolinguistic parallel of Urdu in respect of its highly Sanskritized vocabulary as opposed to the Persianized Urdu. Besides, Hindi is normally written in Devanagri script and Urdu in the Perso-Arabic script. The two terms, though sometimes used interchangeably, are employed in this study keeping in view the continuing controversy around them which largely stems from political and/or ideological factors.

9 Class I and Class II nouns in Burushaski are often referred to as class "x" and class "y" (respectively) in the literature.

10 While suffixation is very common in South Asian languages, prefixation is not common (e.g., the negative prefix *a-* in the Indo-Aryan languages).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

nouns by means of pronominal prefixes. This kind of specification is not found in other areal languages. Similarly, the classification of nouns into four classes is (apparently) not observed in other areal languages. An interesting aspect of the classification of nouns is that the class features are also reflected in the verb morphology. Thus, we have agreement markers appearing on the verb which specify the noun class of the nominal(s) with which the verb agrees. In certain verb classes, there is suppletion of the verb stem according to noun class. For example, the verb stem for 'eat' can be /ṣi-/ or /še-/ based on the noun class of the object. (More on noun classes in chapter 4).

Derivational processes, such as causativization of verbs, involve prefixation in Burushaski, while in many areal languages (such as the Indo-Aryan Urdu and Kashmiri) causativization involves suffixation.[11] Causativization is also sensitive to the Person/Number features of the Absolutive argument [= causee] and, in most cases, is expressed by simply adding a pronominal prefix to the verb root to be causativized.

Similarly, a certain complex compound noun formation process of Burushaski is also very interesting in that a Genitive ending can act as an adjectival (or adnominal) marker when added to a (modifying) noun phrase preceding the head noun. For instance, *guuru mu-lčin-e dasin* 'blue 3FSG-eye-GEN girl' or 'the blue-eyed girl' (in which the head noun *dasin* is preceded by a noun phrase containing an adjective *guuru* and the noun *mulčin*) in Srinagar Burushaski. In most areal languages, on the other hand, a specific adjective-forming suffix (such as *-vaala/-vaali* (M/F) in Hindi-Urdu, and *-vool* in Kashmiri) is added to the modifying noun; this suffix has no other syntactic function in these languages. Consider Hindi-Urdu *niili aaŋkʰõ-vaali laḍki* 'blue eyes.OBL-NMLZ girl' or 'the blue-eyed girl' (in which *-vaali* is a nominalizing (bound) morpheme).

Another feature characteristic of the language is that the infinitive forms of verbs, which may function as gerunds in certain environments, are also used as modifiers in nominal derivation in compound nouns composed of [verb + noun] (e.g., *pʰur dilas-e balac* '(a) bird that can fly' or '(a) flying bird' in Srinagar Burushaski, where *pʰur dilas* means 'to fly' or 'flying (Gerund)'). Morphological parallels for such a construction are absent in other areal languages. Some derivational processes in Burushaski, however, are very similar to other areal languages, especially Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri. These include reduplication of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs; compounding of verbs, etc. (see chapters 4 and 5 for more on this).

11 Causativization in many areal languages is expressed by adding a specific suffix to the verb root to be causativized. Consider *asun* (</as-un/) 'to laugh (laugh-Infinitive)' vs. *asnaavun* (</as-naa-un/) 'to make (somebody) laugh' in Kashmiri.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Because of the lack of a systematic phonological and morphological correspondence of its lexicon with the lexicon of other languages, Burushaski has maintained the status of a unique language in the region; yet centuries of intense language contact have resulted in various structural and typological similarities between Burushaski and its neighboring languages.

1.2 Emergence of Srinagar Burushaski

The region stretching along the Kashmir province of the state of Jammu & Kashmir in India and the Gilgit-Baltistan region of Pakistan is a repository of great ethno-linguistic diversity which has yet to be fully investigated.[12] Owing to a long history of language contact and convergence, the differences between various languages spoken in the region are greatly obscured. Often it is almost impossible to tell which language has affected which, and, as is the case in other parts of the subcontinent, multilingualism is the norm. Burushaski is spoken in a region which is home to speakers of several language families: Indo-Iranian to the south, north and west (which fall into two groups or subfamilies, viz., Iranian and Indo-Aryan or Indic); Tibeto-Burman to the east; and Altaic slightly farther to the north (see Anderson 1997: 1021). As a result of strong external influences, a large number of words in present-day Burushaski are of foreign origin. It has been greatly influenced by languages such as Persian, Urdu, Khowar, Shina, Wakhi, and Balti.[13] Among the various contact languages, Urdu has a special status as the current *lingua franca* of the region. With the opening of the old Silk Road in the 1980s the Pakistani Burushos were introduced to greater means of mobility and travel opportunities. Most Burushaski speakers are bilingual in their native language and at least one of the other regional languages (e.g., Urdu, Shina, Kashmiri, Khowar, and Balti).

An important thing to note here is that although all Burushaski-speaking populations have been influenced by Urdu and other languages, the outcomes of language contact may not be the same in all the dialects. As a result of isolation from each other and contact with different ethno-linguistic populations, many linguistic changes have taken place independently in the different

12 Unless otherwise specified the term "Kashmir" is used to refer to the Indian side of the divided Kashmir (i.e., "Indian administered Kashmir" as opposed to what is referred to as "Pakistan administered Kashmir" or "Azad Kashmir") and "Jammu & Kashmir" for the Indian administered part of the erstwhile state of Jammu & Kashmir.

13 Of these languages, Urdu, Shina and Khowar are Indo-Aryan, Persian and Wakhi are Iranian, and Balti is Tibeto-Burman. Note that contact with the Persian language is indirect – mainly through second language speakers and literature.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

dialects. The Srinagar variety, separated by political and geographical boundaries from the main dialects, has been in intense contact with Kashmiri and Urdu. On the Pakistani side, while the Hunza and Nagar dialects are strongly influenced by Shina, the Yasin dialect is more closely influenced by Khowar than the other dialects are. Except for Munshi (2010), very few studies have been conducted on these contact situations and their outcomes. Furthermore, while the Pakistani varieties of Burushaski have been well studied (Leitner 1889, Zarubin 1927, Lorimer 1935–38, Berger 1974 and 1998, Tiffou 1999, Willson 1999), descriptive and documentation work on the Srinagar variety is fairly recent. This variety of Burushaski is interesting from both a linguistic as well as a sociolinguistic point of view.

Because it has been in isolation from the mainstream Burushaski community for over 125 years, Srinagar Burushaski has developed divergent linguistic features which make it systematically different from the varieties spoken in Pakistan. The changes include retention of features lost in the parent dialect(s), as well as the development of features not found in the Pakistani dialects. Many of these features can be explained in terms of language contact. In addition, given the fact that the number of speakers of Srinagar Burushaski is small, it is threatened by socio-economic pressures which could lead to language shift. Therefore, it is important to describe this sub-dialect and document the changes it has undergone or is currently going through.

The following sections deal with the emergence of Srinagar Burushaski as an independent dialect of Burushaski. We begin with the sociolinguistic history of the speakers of this sub-dialect as a speech community (section 1.2.1) and an account of the linguistic situation and multilingualism among the Srinagar Burushos (section 1.2.2). This is followed by a brief summary of the linguistic changes that the dialect has undergone during its course of development in Srinagar (section 1.2.3).

1.2.1 *Socio-historical Background*

The end of the 19th century marked the beginning of intense language contact in the region where Burushaski is spoken. It was this time period when the ancestors of the speakers of Srinagar Burushaski were brought to Srinagar. The Srinagar Burushos are settled in and around a small locality generally referred to as "inside Kathidarwaza" and situated on a small hillside near the famous Hari Parbat Fort. They constitute a small linguistic community situated in a more or less isolated pocket in the heart of the city in close contact with the majority Kashmiri-speaking community. A small number of Burushos are also reported to live in Batamalu – another locality in Srinagar separated by a few miles from the main Burusho group. These Burushos reportedly do not speak

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

the language anymore; the only Burushaski-speaking member of the family that the author learned about died while this study was in progress. Another family belonging to the same Burusho community lived in Tral during the time of this study; Tral is a small town in the Pulwama district of Jammu & Kashmir. Only one member, the head of the family, was a fluent speaker of Burushaski, while the rest of the family members spoke Urdu and Kashmiri (late Raja Safdar Ali Khan, p.c.).[14] A handful of Burushaski speakers from the Srinagar community live in other parts of India, traveling back and forth due to their occupations or pursuit of higher education. There are also a few other Burushos who live outside their community in different parts of the Kashmir valley. These include Burusho women who have married into the Kashmiri-speaking community. The children from such marriages are generally multilingual, with Burushaski as one of their primary languages at home with their mothers alongside Urdu or Kashmiri with the rest of the family.

The members of the Burushaski community in Srinagar form a tight-knit subculture within the broader Kashmiri society. Almost all Burushos are related to each other and practice Shi'ite Islam. Socio-economically, the community represents a middle-class suburban society. Many adult members of the community work in government offices. Women, when they choose to work, tend to seek jobs in the field of education as schoolteachers (mainly in elementary and high schools), while men work in different spheres (such as business, education, banking, law, and civil service). Education of children is highly encouraged. The literacy rate in the younger generation is one hundred percent, while in the older generation men are more educated than women.

Most members of the community are the descendants of Raja Azur (or "Uzar") Khan,[15] the crown prince of the Gilgit Agency (now in northwest Pakistan) in the late 19th century; Azur Khan was originally from Nagar in (present-day) Pakistan. It is for this reason that many members of the community claim a higher social status in terms of lineage, as they belong to the *raaǰa tʰamo* '(the) king dynasty', than some families who are considered of non-royal descent (see Munshi 2010: 37).[16] The forefathers of the community, who include Raja Azur Khan, were arrested in 1891–92 by a combined force of

14 The speaker's name is Raja Aždar Khan. The author had a single opportunity to meet with him. It was a chance meeting with the help of Raja Safdar Ali Khan one day when Aždar Khan happened to be visiting a relation in the neighborhood.

15 The name is variously spelt as "Azur Khan" and "Uzar Khan" but pronounced as [azur xaan] by the Srinagar Burushos.

16 It is interesting that the names of the male members of the community almost always start with Raja 'king' – a (sort of) title used for people of royal ancestry. Khan is the family name (last name) used by these Burushos.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

British and Kashmir troops under the Dogra rule. Raja Azur Khan, along with his entourage, was dispatched to Srinagar and kept under arrest in the Hari Parbat Fort (Hassnain 1978: 75–80). Present-day Srinagar Burushos include a few members who were originally from Hunza and migrated at a later stage (mostly owing to new marital relationships).

The community is often referred to as the "Bota Rāja" (pronounced [boṭɨ rāǰɨ])[17] and the locality as *boṭɨ rāǰan hund* (i.e., '(the locality) of the Bota Rajas') in the common parlance of the local Kashmiris. This is especially true of the members of the Kashmiri Shi'ite community who are in closer social contact with the Burushos owing to their religious affiliation. The term *Bota* [boṭɨ] is a colloquial umbrella term used by Kashmiris for people of Mongoloid features, and is often misused for people of different ethno-linguistic identities, including Dards/Shins (Indo-Aryan, non-Tibetan), Ladakhis, Baltis, and Tibetans (ibid.).[18] It perhaps comes from "Bhotiya" (pronounced as [bʰoṭiyā]), the term for 'Tibetans' living in the trans-Himalayan region that divides India from Tibet. "Bhotiya", in turn, derives from Tibetan *bod*, which means 'Tibet'.

Along the border of the same Hari Parbat hill is situated another immigrant population who are of Tibetan origin and speak (a dialect of) Tibetan. Perhaps it is owing to this reason that members of the Burushaski community in Srinagar are sometimes mistaken for being of Tibetan origin and quite incorrectly assumed to speak a Tibetan language by some Kashmiris. The Tibetans live as a secluded community considerably separated from the mainstream Kashmiri population in terms of social contact. Despite being a subculture in itself, Burushos are a part of the broader Kashmiri society in social and political terms, but the Tibetans are not. While Burushos enjoy a state domicile and have been offered Scheduled Tribe status by the government of India in the recent past, the immigrant Tibetan population has not yet been offered a resident ("state-subject") status in the state of Jammu & Kashmir.[19]

A number of in-group terms are used by the Srinagar Burushos to refer to the non-Burusho (largely Kashmiri) population, and also for people of various religious affiliations in the Kashmir region. For example, the term used to refer to Kashmiris is *gɨya*; the origin and literal meaning of the term are yet to be ascertained. Similarly, the terms *doy* 'right' and *ɣay* 'left' are used for 'Shi'ite' and 'Sunni' Muslims, respectively (cf. *doɻ* 'right' and *ɣaɻ* 'left' in Hunza Burushaski).

17 Note that *boṭɨ rāǰɨ* literally means 'Bota king(s)' in Kashmiri; K. *rāǰɨ* can be compared with *rāǰā* 'king' in other Indo-Aryan languages.

18 These include people mostly from Leh, Ladakh, and Kargil.

19 Scheduled Tribes are officially designated groups of historically disadvantaged people in India which enjoy certain privileges and special treatment within various domains, e.g., in terms of employment and educational opportunities.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Shi'ites are called *doy* 'right', perhaps because the Srinagar Burushos themselves identify with them in terms of religious sub-divisions and socio-cultural relations.

1.2.2 *Linguistic Situation and Multilingualism*

Kashmiri is the majority language spoken in the Indian state of Jammu & Kashmir (henceforth "J&K"). It is the primary language spoken in the Kashmir Valley and some other regions of the state (the total number of Kashmiri speakers, as per the 2001 Census, is about 5.5 million throughout India; of these the majority live in Kashmir). It is also the majority language spoken in Srinagar. Urdu, the second language of most educated people in J&K, is the state official language. As a local *lingua franca*, Urdu is used as a medium of communication between the speakers of different languages. It is the most commonly used language in the public domain, especially in educational institutions and government offices. It is also one of the main languages of publication for state media, including radio and television. Several newspapers published in the Kashmir region are in Urdu and English. Other major languages spoken in the state are: Hindi (the second language of a majority of Hindus in J&K), Dogri, Gojri (or Gujari), Shina (mainly spoken in the Gurez region of J&K), Brokskat (closely related to Shina and spoken in Ladakh), Ladakhi, Balti (primarily spoken in Kargil and Ladakh), Bhadrawahi (mainly spoken in Bhadrawah), Purik (or Purgi, spoken in Kargil), and Punjabi. Except for Ladakhi, Balti, and Purgi, which belong to the Sino-Tibetan language family, the majority of these languages are of Indo-Aryan origin. Most of the state radio and television programs in Kashmir, including daily news, are conducted in Urdu and Kashmiri. A small number of programs in other local languages, such as Dogri (an Indo-Aryan language closely related to Punjabi, spoken chiefly in the Jammu region but also in parts of Kashmir and some other states of India) and Ladakhi (the predominant language in the Ladakh region of J&K, closely related to Tibetan) are also occasionally broadcast on state radio and television.[20]

The languages spoken by the Srinagar Burushos are Burushaski, Urdu, and Kashmiri. While Burushaski is the primary language spoken at home, Urdu and Kashmiri are used with varying degrees determined in terms of linguistic proficiency and social context. Many educated speakers, including schoolgoing children and youths attending college, are more proficient in Urdu than

20 Based on the 2001 census of India the total number of Dogri speakers is about 2.28 million, and the total number of Ladakhi speakers is about 105,000 (see *Ethnologue*, Simon & Fennig ed. 2017).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

in Kashmiri. Proficiency in Kashmiri is stronger among males than among females. This can be attributed to men's dominant role in public life, which allows them to be in closer contact with the broader Kashmiri community. Educated Burushos also know English, which is a common language of communication for official and business purposes in India. Some members of the community also speak Balti, and very few speak Shina. These mostly include people who immigrated at later stages than the rest (e.g., as a result of matrimonial relationships with people from Gilgit in Pakistan or from Kargil in India). A few families that have chosen to live amongst the majority community and away from the Burushaski speech community have more or less shifted to Kashmiri, speaking Burushaski only in special circumstances, such as during family visits to the main Burushaski community and other social gatherings. Speakers often switch between Burushaski and Urdu, as well as between Burushaski and Kashmiri.

Linguistic influence from Urdu on Srinagar Burushaski is primarily via second-language speakers of Urdu. This is because Urdu is the second language of the people of the state of J&K, which has few native speakers of the language. On the other hand, linguistic contact with Kashmiri is mediated through first-language or native speakers of Kashmiri. In addition to language contact via spoken interaction, contact with Urdu is also mediated through local media and television. Television is also a source of linguistic influence from Hindi.[21] Because of their proficiency in Kashmiri as well as Urdu, and the use of Urdu in the public domain, the separate linguistic identity of Srinagar Burushos is often unnoticed by the majority Kashmiri community as well as by the other ethno-linguistic populations of the state. Despite the varying degrees of multilingualism and language change, however, Srinagar Burushos as a whole have successfully maintained their native language through several generations during the course of their stay in the region. The language of the older-generation males, especially in formal speech and orally preserved religious poems, is heavily loaded with Persian words. This is because the forefathers of the community separated from the native population in Gilgit at a point when the language of the elite class as well as that of the administration was Persian. Persian was an integral part of the socio-cultural life of South Asia, especially northern India (of the pre-1947 era, which included Pakistan), between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries (see Alam 2003: 131). Being largely the language of the descendants of a royal family, this social dialect was, therefore, initially heavily influenced by Persian. This is revealed in orally preserved

21 With the popularization of television, films, and other media in India, Urdu and Hindi are converging to a certain extent, especially in the spoken form.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

texts, especially religious poems (some recordings of which were made available to the author by the native speakers), and data from various studies on Burushaski (e.g. Lorimer 1935–38, which provides several texts narrated by a Hunza king). It is therefore assumed that the dialect was originally spoken by people of royal descent in Nagar as well as Hunza. In a sense, this variety could be argued to have descended from a (hypothetical) "Standard Hunza-Nagar" variety in the conventional sense of the term "Standard" generally associated with the group of higher social status.

The Srinagar variety is much closer to the Nagar dialect than to the Hunza dialect of Burushaski in several respects. Despite the fact that the ancestors of some speakers of Srinagar Burushaski were from Hunza, the Nagar variety is perceived as the "high" variety by many Srinagar Burushos because initially, among the Srinagar Burushos, the Nagar dialect was spoken by people of royal descent who had once ruled Hunza and Nagar, and constituted the majority of their ancestral community. The Nagar forms of speech are therefore perceived to be the prestige forms by some members of the community.

1.2.3 *Linguistic Outcomes of Contact: A Brief Summary*

As a result of community division and migration, a number of changes have come about in Burushaski in different regions. Owing to intense contact with Indo-Aryan Kashmiri and Urdu, and isolation from the parent community in Pakistan for about 125 years, Srinagar Burushaski (henceforth "SB") has developed various linguistic features which make it systematically different from the other dialects of Burushaski. Linguistic outcomes of contact are manifested in the form of changes affecting the various sub-systems of the language, viz., phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax. Some of the changes are summarized as follows (note: "HB", "NB" and "YB" refer to the Hunza, Nagar and Yasin varieties, respectively; unless otherwise specified, the examples cited in the text are from SB):

a. Vowel syncope: a sequence of open syllables of the type CV adjacent to each other (i.e., CV.CV.CV …) is replaced by closed syllables of the type (C)VC after the deletion of a vowel (e.g., *makčim* < /makučim/ 'middle one', *ǰimli* < /ǰimale/ 'tomorrow'),
b. Re-establishment of lexical borrowings through re-borrowing of lexical items, which were originally phonologically nativized in Burushaski (e.g. *kitaap* ~ *kitaab* 'book' from Urdu *kitaab; adap* ~ *adab* 'respect' from Ur. *adab*),
c. Development of lexical differences with respect to other dialects (e.g. SB *rištedaar* vs. HB/NB *ǰaam* 'relative(s)', SB *batek* (cf. Ur. *batax*) vs. HB/NB *pʰariṣ* 'duck'),

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

d. Loss of certain grammatical features (e.g., the distinction between the class features within the [–human] nouns is in the process of being lost), and
e. Innovation of linguistic features and structural convergence through contact (such as the formation of tag questions and calques based on patterns available in Kashmiri and Urdu; see section 7.3.5 for more on this).

Many of these changes are analyzed and discussed at length in Munshi (2010).

1.3 Database and Methodology

The primary research method employed in this work is recording, transcription, and translation of naturally-occurring discourse, including conversations, storytelling, and other verbal behavior, as well as elicitation of words and sentences. Following a text- and discourse-centered approach (Sherzer 1987; Urban 1991) and sitting with the speakers of the language for hours and hours over days, weeks and months during many fieldtrips, the author observed the native speakers using their language in everyday life. While text and discourse provide a foundation for the major aims of this study, elicitation was used as a supplementary tool for getting more minute details, completing the linguistic paradigms, and filling in any gaps in the data. Spending extended periods of time in the field enabled the author not only to observe and analyze the various linguistic practices of the community but also to participate in as many different aspects of their life as possible. Over the course of time it became possible to achieve a firm grip on the structural and functional aspects of the language.

The database for the study mainly consists of naturally-occurring conversations, discussions, popular stories, personal narratives, historical accounts, poetry, proverbial expressions, and other verbal behavior, as well as elicited words, sentences and fieldnotes from participant observation. Some of the consultants were asked to narrate oral traditions describing the history of the community and their cultural and linguistic practices. The recordings were made in different social settings and from different age groups. The data were primarily digitally recorded in the form of audio and visual recordings over several fieldtrips between 2003 and 2016.[22] Some of the older data, however,

22 A substantial amount of the data were collected in 2004 over a nine-month-long field trip. Many more fieldtrips were made in the followings years. The author also collected a huge corpus of data from the Pakistani dialects of Burushaski as part of a cross-dialectal

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

were obtained on audio and videotapes, and were later digitized.[23] To combat the *observer's paradox*, especially during the initial stages of data collection, many of the audio and video recordings were made with the help of a native speaker in the absence of the author.

A large portion of the data was transcribed and translated with the help of native speakers, while some data were also independently transcribed by the author and later confirmed with the native speakers.[24] For comparison of forms in the different dialects and the investigation of dialectal differences, data collected in India, Pakistan, the United States and Canada as well as data from the published literature were used. The majority of the data from the published literature deals with the Pakistani varieties of Burushaski. These include: Lorimer (1935–38, mainly the Hunza variety), Varma (1941, Hunza and Nagar varieties), Berger (1974, Yasin variety; 1998, Hunza and Nagar varieties), Skyhawk (2003, Nagar variety), Tiffou (1993, Hunza variety), Tiffou & Pesot (1989, Yasin variety), Tiffou (1999, 2000), and Grune (1998, Yasin variety). Other secondary sources of literature used in this study are: Biddulph (1977, latest edition; the work originally appeared in 1880), Leitner (1889), Morgenstierne (1945), Backstrom (1992), and others, besides the available historical literature on the contact languages (viz., Grierson (1919), Masica (1976, 1991, 1992), Bubenik (1996), Turner (1966), and others). The data collected in India, Pakistan, and the United States provided a rich source of first-hand knowledge on the language and its grammar. The author's research and knowledge of the languages in contact proved of great help. The principal languages of interaction employed in the study were Kashmiri and Urdu – languages of which the author is a native and near-native speaker, respectively. English was sometimes used with educated speakers.

Data from Lorimer (1935–38) were especially helpful in investigating the older forms – forms that were used at a time close to the point of separation of SB from the other dialects. Data from relatively recent studies and the author's continuing fieldwork helped in investigating and exploring the current

---

documentation project funded by the National Science Foundation (2010). The documentation materials are housed at the Digital Library of the University of North Texas and can be accessed at https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/BURUS/.

23 Some members of the community, especially women, were hesitant to be video-recorded, although audio recordings were quite easy to obtain. Following the request of native speakers, a small number of the recordings are being kept by the author exclusively for her research and will not be made available to the public. All the remaining recordings, however, are available for public access as part of the digital collection mentioned earlier.

24 Although the transcriptions and translations are based on native speaker consultations, the author solely accepts the responsibility of any errors or mistakes on her part.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

variations and ongoing developments across the dialects. A great majority of the comparisons were confirmed with the help of the native speakers of Burushaski. The generalizations are based primarily on the author's corpus and texts, and on data from Lorimer (1935–38), Berger (1974, 1998), Skyhawk (2003), and Tiffou (1993). Unless otherwise specified, the data used in this book are part of the database collected firsthand by the author (see Munshi 2016).

1.4 Transcription Key

The following is a summary of the special symbols used in the transcriptions (for a more detailed description of the symbols used in this study and their IPA equivalents, refer to the representation of sounds in the preliminary matter):

i. The distinction between dental and retroflex stops is expressed by the placement of a dot underneath the latter. Thus, *t, t^h* and *d* are dental, and *ṭ, ṭ^h* and ḍ are retroflex stops.[25]
ii. A hachek is used for all alveo-palatal (or post-alveolar) consonants. Thus, *č, ǰ* and *š* represent the voiceless palatal affricate, the voiced palatal affricate and the voiceless palatal fricative, respectively.
iii. *c* and *c^h* represent voiceless dental affricates, *č* and *č^h* represent voiceless palatal affricates, while *ç* and *ç^h* represent retroflex affricates (non-aspirated and aspirated, respectively, in each pair).[26]
iv. *ṣ* and *ẓ* represent voiceless and voiced retroflex fricatives, respectively.
v. *ɻ* represents a voiced retroflex approximant/glide.
vi. Vowel length is represented by double vowels VV, except in certain cases where a macron may be used. For example, a long [a] is represented as *aa* (and sometimes as *ā*).

There are some additional symbols used in the data for which descriptions are provided as they are introduced; these include dialectal variations of sounds found only in Yasin Burushaski or sounds in loanwords.

25 In Munshi (2010), dental stops are represented with a diacritic tooth ("combining bridge") underneath the stops as: *d̪, t̪* and *t̪^{h}*. Following native speaker preferences and suggestions by an anonymous reviewer, use of this diacritic was avoided in the present study.

26 In a number of previous studies on Burushaski, *ċ* and *ċ^h* are used for the dental affricates. This often creates confusion between dental and retroflex affricates. To avoid the confusion, dots, when used as diacritics, are used only for the retroflex stops, affricates and fricatives in this study.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

1.5 Organization of the Book

The book is divided into the following chapters. Chapter 1 (Introduction) deals with preliminaries to this study. Chapter 2 (Phonology) deals with SB word-level phonology; it provides an account of the SB phonemic inventory and phonemic analysis, a description and analysis of the syllable structure and SB phonotactics, an account of the basic stress patterns, and a description of some of the major phonological processes. Chapter 3 (Morpho-Syntax) provides a description of constituent order typology (which includes an account of the basic phrase structure), grammatical relations and case marking, agreement patterns, question formation, and clause combination (e.g., complementation, relativization, coordination, and adverbial clause formation). Chapter 4 deals with the morphology of the noun and nominal inflection. Chapter 5 describes verbs and verb morphology. Derivational morphology is discussed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 discusses some phonological, morphological, lexical, and grammatical differences between the various dialects of Burushaski. A collection of linguistically analyzed texts is provided in the Appendix. The text collection includes: (1) the story of an old man and a king, (2) the story of a fox and a rooster, and (3) a sample of natural conversation in the form of a discussion on Burushaski language and grammar.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

CHAPTER 2

Phonology

This chapter primarily deals with the word-level phonology of SB. We begin with a description of the phonemic inventory and phonemics of consonants and vowels in Section 2.1. An account of the syllable structure is provided in Section 2.2, followed by a description of some phonological processes in Section 2.3.

2.1 Phonemic Inventory

Several attempts have been made to give an overall account of the phonological inventory of the Burushaski language (see Lorimer 1935–38, Tiffou 1993, Anderson 1997, Berger 1974 and 1998, and others). The phonological system of Burushaski is rich, though not unique. It resembles the basic phonological systems of some of its neighboring languages in many respects, especially Shina, Khowar, and Kashmiri – Indo-Aryan languages belonging to the Dardic group. A detailed analysis, however, reveals certain features characteristic of the phonology of the language. The phonemic analysis presented in the following section describes sound contrasts based on the distribution of phonemes and allophones in SB.

2.1.1 *Consonants and Phonemics of Consonants*

The distinctive phonemic inventory of consonants in SB is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1 Consonantal phonemes

	Labial		**Dental**		**Alveolar**		**Retroflex**		**Alveo-palatal**		**Velar**		**Uvular**		**Glottal**	
Voicing	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**
Stops	p	b	t	d			ṭ	ḍ			k	g	q			
	p^h		t^h				$ṭ^h$				k^h					
Affricates			c				ç		č	ǰ						
			c^h				$ç^h$		$č^h$							

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2019 | DOI:10.1163/9789004387898_003
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

TABLE 1 Consonantal phonemes (*cont.*)

	Labial		**Dental**		**Alveolar**		**Retroflex**		**Alveo-palatal**		**Velar**		**Uvular**		**Glottal**	
Voicing	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**	**Vl**	**Vd**
Fricatives	(f)	v			s	z	ṣ	ẓ	š				x	ɣ	h	
Nasals		m				n						ŋ				
Laterals						l										
Vibrants						r										
Glides							ɻ		y							

In the following sections a detailed description and classification of the consonantal system for SB is provided. For an analysis of the various phonemic contrasts, suitable examples illustrating the distribution of phonemes are given. Where minimal pairs are not available, contrasts are illustrated in analogous environments.

2.1.1.1 Stops and Affricates

Stops and affricates in Burushaski share a number of common laryngeal features. Thus, phonemic distinctions are observed in terms of the features [+/–Voice], [+/–Aspiration], and Place of Articulation.

2.1.1.1.1 *Stops*

The basic stop positions in Burushaski resemble those of the basic stop positions of the neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, viz., labial, dental, retroflex, and velar positions. The retroflex consonants, like many areal languages, tend to be articulated in the alveolar area rather than farther back, especially when they occur in word-initial position. In addition to the typical stop positions found in its areal neighbors, Burushaski articulatory phonology also includes the uvular stop position. There are thirteen stop consonants in SB. The phonemic contrasts are observed with respect to voiced unaspirated, voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated stops. A classification of the phonemic stop consonants is given in Table 2.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

TABLE 2 Stop consonants

	Voiced	**Voiceless unaspirated**	**Voiceless aspirated**
Labial	b	p	pʰ
Dental	d	tʰ	tʰ
Retroflex	ḍ	ṭ	ṭʰ
Velar	g	k	kʰ
Uvular	–	q	–

Among the stops, labials are classified as voiced unaspirated /b/, voiceless unaspirated /p/, and voiceless aspirated /pʰ/. Consider the examples in (1) for an illustration of the phonemic contrasts between the three consonants in minimal or near-minimal pairs:

(1) Labials: /b/, /p/ and /pʰ/

a. /p/ ~ / pʰ/ contrast

pari 'fairy'	pʰar 'change/turn'
purmo 'long ago'	pʰut 'ghost'

b. /p/ ~ /b/ contrast

pari 'fairy'	bar 'talk (n.)'
praq 'clapping'	brasput 'Thursday'
purmo 'long ago'	burum 'white'

c. /b/ ~ /pʰ/ contrast

bar 'talk (n.)'	pʰar 'change/turn'
bula 'polo'	pʰut 'ghost'

Note that the contrasts in (1) above are shown in analogous environments, i.e., minimal and near-minimal pairs. (The same is true of the other phonemic contrasts which follow in this chapter).

Dental stops in SB are classified as voiced unaspirated /d/, voiceless unaspirated /t/, and voiceless aspirated /tʰ/. Consider the examples in (2) illustrating /d/, /t/, and /tʰ/ contrasts:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(2) Dental stops: /d/, /t/, and /tʰ/

a. /d/~/t/ contrast

diš 'place'	tiṣ 'wind'
dan 'stone'	tam 'bath, swimming'
balda 'load'	altan 'two'

b. /t/~/ tʰ/ contrast

tam 'bath, swimming'	tʰam 'king'
tom 'plant, tree'	tʰum 'other'

c. /d/~/tʰ/ contrast

dan 'stone'	tʰam 'king'

Retroflex stops are classified as voiced unaspirated /ḍ/, voiceless unaspirated /ṭ/, and voiceless aspirated /ṭʰ/. Consider the examples in (3) illustrating phonemic contrasts in minimal or near-minimal pairs:

(3) Retroflex stops: /ḍ /, /ṭ/ and /ṭʰ/

a. /ḍ /~/ṭ / contrast

ḍako 'pillar'	ṭak 'tied (buttoned)' (as in *tak etas* 'to button)'
ḍaḍaŋ 'drum'	ṭuṭaŋ 'dark'

b. /ṭ /~ /ṭʰ/ contrast

ṭam 'closed'	ṭʰam 'broom'
ṭuṭaŋ 'dark'	ṭʰumuk 'meeting'

c. /ḍ/~/ṭʰ/ contrast

ḍaŋ 'hard'	ṭʰaŋ 'push'
ḍam '(as many) times'	ṭʰam 'broom'

For the dental versus retroflex contrast for stops, consider the examples in (4):

(4) Dental vs. Retroflex contrast

a. /d/~/ḍ/ contrast

daŋ 'sleep' (n.)	ḍaŋ 'hard'
dan 'stone'	ḍam '(as many) times'

b. /t/~/ṭ/ contrast

tam 'bath, swimming'	ṭam 'closed'

c. /tʰ/~/ṭʰ/ contrast

tʰam 'king'	ṭʰam 'broom'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Velar stops in SB are classified as voiced unaspirated /g/, voiceless unaspirated /k/, and voiceless aspirated /kʰ/. For the illustration of contrasts among various velar stop consonants in analogous environments, consider the examples in (5):

(5) Velar stops: /g/, /k/, and /kʰ/

a. /k/~/g/ contrast

kareelu 'sheep'	garum 'warm/hot'
kanṭei 'eagle'	gan 'road'

b. /k/~/kʰ/ contrast

kareelu 'sheep'	kʰaraṭi 'basket'
kuuto 'pocket'	kʰuulto 'today'
kaman 'a little'	kʰan 'fort'
kanṭei 'eagle'	

c. /g/~/kʰ/ contrast

gan 'road'	kʰan 'fort'
garum 'warm/hot'	kʰareṭi 'basket'

There is only one uvular stop consonant in SB, viz., voiceless unaspirated /q/. The examples in (6) illustrate the contrasts between velar and uvular stop consonants:

(6) Uvular and Velar contrasts: /q/ versus /k/ and /g/

a. /q/~/k/ contrast

kanṭei 'eagle'	qaw 'call (n.)'
kareelu 'sheep'	qarun 'miserly', qarqaamuc 'poultry'

b. /q/~/g/ contrast

qarun 'miserly'	garum 'warm/hot'
qaw 'call (n.)'	gawu 'chakor, bird species'

2.1.1.1.2 *Affricates*

Burushaski is very rich in affricate consonants. It distinguishes dental, retroflex, and alveo-palatal affricates. A classification of SB affricate consonants is given in Table 3.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

TABLE 3 Affricate consonants

	Voiced	Voiceless Unaspirated	Voiceless Aspirated
Alveo-palatal	ǰ	č	čʰ
Dental	–	c	cʰ
Retroflex	–	ç	çʰ

While alveo-palatal and dental affricates are common in most (if not all) Indo-Iranian (and especially Dardic) languages spoken in the neighborhood of Burushaski, retroflex affricates are perhaps only found in its closest areal neighbors in Pakistan (see Bashir 2003). As in stops, phonemic contrasts in affricates are observed in terms of [voiced, unaspirated], [voiceless, unaspirated], and [voiceless, aspirated].

Alveo-palatal affricates in SB are classified as voiced unaspirated /ǰ/, voiceless unaspirated /č/, and voiceless aspirated /čʰ/. Consider the examples in (7) illustrating the phonemic contrasts for different alveo-palatal affricates in SB with the help of minimal or near minimal pairs:

(7) Alveo-palatal affricates: /ǰ/, /č/, and /čʰ/ contrast

a. /ǰ/ ~ /č/ contrast

ǰoṭ 'small, young'	čoq 'just now, recently'
ǰuk 'touch'	čuruk 'cut (n.)'

b. /č/ ~ /čʰ/ contrast

čuruk 'cut (n.)'	čʰu 'naked'
čap (etas) '(to) hide'	čʰap 'meat'

c. /ǰ/ ~ /čʰ/ contrast

ǰuu 'yes; (Honorific)'	čʰu 'naked'
ǰuk 'touch'	čʰumur 'iron'

Dental affricates are classified as voiceless unaspirated /c/ and voiceless aspirated /cʰ/. Consider the examples in (8) illustrating phonemic contrasts for dental affricates in SB:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(8) Dental affricates: /c/ ~ /cʰ/ contrast

capin 'sandals'	cʰan 'truth'
mucʰu 'take her; (Imperative)'	mucum 'since'

Retroflex affricate consonants are classified as voiceless unaspirated /ç/ and voiceless aspirated /çʰ/. The examples in (9) illustrate the phonemic contrasts in analogous environments for unaspirated and aspirated retroflex affricates in SB:

(9) Retroflex affricates: /ç/ ~ /çʰ/ contrast

çaçaq 'beating (of clothes in washing)'	çʰam 'hunger'

The examples in (10) illustrate the phonemic contrasts in analogous environments for affricates in terms of the different places and manners of articulation:

(10) Affricates: Other contrasts

a. Alveo-palatal vs. Retroflex

i. /č/ ~ /čʰ/ ~ /ç/ contrast

pači 'cloth' dačʰi 'give me; (Imperative)' qaçi 'at/near'

ii. /čʰ/ ~ /çʰ/ contrast

čʰumu 'fish'	çʰur 'knife'[1]
čʰap 'meat'	çʰam 'hunger'
dačʰi 'give me; (Imperative)'	maçʰi 'honey'

b. Dental vs. Retroflex affricates

i. /c/ ~ /ç/ contrast

capin 'sandals' çaçaq 'noise from hand-washing clothes'

ii. /cʰ/ ~ /çʰ/ contrast

cʰil 'water'	çʰiw 'sparrows'
cʰan 'truth'	çʰam 'hunger'

c. Dental vs. Alveo-palatal contrasts

i. /c/ ~ /č/ contrast

capin 'sandals' čap (etas) 'to hide'

ii. /cʰ/ ~ /čʰ/ contrast

cʰan 'true' čʰap 'meat'

1 Compare Hindi/Urdu *čʰurii* 'knife'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

2.1.1.2 Fricatives

There are at least eight fricative consonants in SB. A classification of the fricative consonants in SB based on place of articulation is given in Table 4.

TABLE 4 Fricative consonants

	Voiced	**Voiceless**
Labial	–	(f)
Alveolar	z	s
Retroflex	ẓ	ṣ
Alveo-palatal	–	š
Velar	ɣ	x
Uvular	–	h

A characteristic feature of the phonological system of Burushaski is the presence of the retroflex fricatives /ṣ/ and /ẓ/. These two fricatives are also found in some of its Dardic neighbors such as Khowar, Indus Kohistani, and Shina, in which both /ṣ/ and /ẓ/ are found (cf. Bashir 2003: 818–894). In SB, the fricatives [f] and [x] often alternate with the corresponding aspirated stops [pʰ] and [kʰ], respectively. The distinction between the corresponding stop and fricative consonants in a pair (i.e. *f/pʰ* or *x/kʰ*) may not be clearly observed in some speakers. Thus, we find variations such as [mafeer] ~ [mapʰeer] 'old', [faalis] ~ [pʰaalis] 'little/small (quantity)', [rax] ~ [raq] 'wish, desire', and so on. In other dialects of Burushaski, other variants are also found. For instance, HB *mapʰeer ~ mapeer* 'old' and NB *raq* 'wish, desire'.

The present study treats [pʰ] and [f] as allophonic variants of /pʰ/ in SB, but /x/ (corresponding to /qʰ/ in other dialects) and /kʰ/ are treated as separate phonemes. The presence of [f] in Burushaski is argued to be a result of language contact and lexical borrowings from Persian/Arabic (often via Urdu). Consider Urdu loanwords such as *farq* 'difference', *faayda* 'profit, gain', and *kaafii* 'enough' where [f] is replaced by [pʰ] in most dialects of Burushaski including SB, especially in informal contexts. Thus, we have variant forms like *pʰarq* 'difference', *pʰaayda* 'profit, gain', and *kaapʰii* 'enough' (respectively). The same is true of phonemic /x/ in lexical borrowings. For instance, /x/, which surfaces as [x] in Urdu *xudaa* 'God' and *xaalii* 'empty', is replaced by [kʰ] in SB *kʰudaa* and *kʰaali* (respectively) in informal speech. Based on the available data, it does not seem to be the case that [f] is a separate phoneme opposed

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

to [pʰ] in SB. Therefore, [f] and [pʰ] are treated as variants/allophones of /pʰ/ in the present study. However, [x] and [kʰ] do not seem to behave like [f] and [pʰ]. Thus, although [x] is often replaced by [kʰ] in lexical borrowings (cf. *xudaa ~ kʰudaa* 'God' and *xaalii ~ kʰaalii* 'empty' from Urdu *xudaa* and *xaalii*, respectively), a phonemic contrast between *kʰ* and *x* is observed in analogous environments in words such as *kʰan* 'fort' versus *xaašiŋ* 'until' in word-initial and *a-kʰar* 'my voice' versus *a-xat* 'my face/mouth' in intervocalic positions. As confirmed by native speakers of Srinagar Burushaski, there is a clear distinction between the [kʰ] of *a-kʰar* (**a-xar*) or *kʰan* (**xan*) and the [x] of *a-xat* (**a-kʰat*) or *xaašiŋ* (**kʰaašiŋ*). In some dialects of Burushaski, *x* is represented as *qʰ*. Thus, Berger (1998) maintains a distinction between *kʰ* and *qʰ* in his phonemic inventory of Hunza and Nagar Burushaski.

Examples to illustrate the phonemic contrast of different fricatives in terms of their places of articulation in analogous environments are provided in (11):

(11) Phonemic contrast in Fricatives in terms of Place of Articulation

a. Alveolar vs. Alveo-palatal: /s/ ~ /š/ contrast

ayas 'my sister'	ayaš 'sky; climate'
besan 'what'	bešal 'when'

b. Alveolar vs. Retroflex: /s/ ~ /ṣ/ contrast

sar 'thread'	ṣar 'anger'
as 'my heart'	aṣ 'my neck'
gus 'woman'	bupuṣ 'a type of squash'

c. Alveo-palatal vs. Retroflex: /š/ ~ /ṣ/ contrast

buš 'cat'	bupuṣ 'a type of squash'

d. Velar vs. Uvular: /x/, /ɣ/ ~ /h/ contrasts

i. /x/ ~ /h/ contrast

xaa 'until'	haa 'house (Genitive/Oblique)'

ii. /ɣ/ ~ /h/ contrast

ɣar 'song'	har 'ox'

f. Alveolar vs. Retroflex vs. Velar vs. Uvular:/s/ ~ /ṣ/ ~ /ɣ/ ~ /h/ contrasts

sar 'thread'	ṣar 'anger'
ɣar 'song'	har 'ox'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Voicing contrasts between various fricatives in analogous environments are illustrated in the following examples in (12):

(12) Voicing contrast in Fricatives:

a. Alveolar fricatives: /s/ ~ /z/

besen 'what'	bezeele 'how'

b. Retroflex fricatives: /ʂ/ ~ /ʐ/

ʂu 'eat; PL.[–H, I].IMP'	ʐu 'come; IMP'
ɣaʂap (etas) '(to) wipe'	ɣaʐam (etas) '(to dig/make) a hole'
ʂapik 'food'	ʐakun 'donkey'

c. Velar fricatives: /x/ ~ /ɣ/

xaa 'until'	ɣaan 'a crow'
xareṭi 'basket'	ɣar 'song'
axat 'my mouth'	čaɣa 'talk (n.)'

The phonemic contrast between velar fricatives and velar stops is illustrated in the following examples in (13):

(13) Velar Fricative vs. Velar Stop: /x/, /ɣ/ ~ /k/, /g/ contrasts

xareṭi 'basket'	kareelu 'sheep'
ɣar 'song'	gar 'marriage'

The phonemic contrast between the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ and the voiceless retroflex aspirated stop /ʈʰ/ is illustrated in the pairs in (14).

(14) Phonemic contrast between retroflex fricative /ʂ/ and retroflex affricate /ʈʰ/

ʂaŋ 'alley, small street'[2]	ʈʰaŋ 'thorn'
ʂin(a) 'Shina (ethnonym)'	ʈʰin 'sparrow'

2 Used variously. Also used for 'mountainous hills'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

2.1.1.3 Nasals

Like other dialects of Burushaski, SB has three nasals: labial /m/, alveolar /n/, and velar /ŋ/. The phonemic contrast of /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ is revealed by data in (15) containing minimal or near-minimal pairs:

(15) Nasals: /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/

a. /n/ ~ /ŋ/ contrast

hin 'one; [+H]'	hiŋ 'door'
dan 'stone'	daŋ 'sleep (n.)'

b. /n/ ~ /m/ contrast

ni 'go; (Imperative)'	mi 'we'
nimi 'he/it went'	mimi 'our mother'

c. /m/ ~ /ŋ/ contrast

tam 'lightning'	daŋ 'sleep (n.)'
–	taŋ 'tight' (from Ur. *taŋg* 'tight)'

While the alveolar nasal /n/ and labial nasal /m/ both occur in different positions, the occurrence of phonemic /ŋ/ is restricted to post-vocalic non-initial positions (i.e., word-final and inter-vocalic). Consider the data in (16) for illustration:

(16) Occurrence of nasals in different environments:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
Labial /m/:	mišindo 'six'	mumi 'her mother'	tʰaanum 'high, tall'
	mak(u)čim 'middle'	kam-an 'a little'	bim 'was; 3SG.[–H]'
Alveolar /n/:	nimas 'story'	čuuni 'wood'	dasin 'girl' bun 'rock'
Velar /ŋ/:	–	hiŋ-ičaŋ 'doors' šaŋali '(door) chain'	hiŋ 'door' tʰatiŋ 'cold' daŋ 'sleep'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

In some dialects of Burushaski, the distinction between /n/ and /ŋ/ is lost in certain words, especially in word-final position. For example, HB *ariin* and *hin*, as opposed to SB *ariiŋ* '(my) hand' and *hiŋ* 'door' (respectively), exhibit this (more on this topic in Chapter 7).

2.1.1.4 Semivowels (Glides), Laterals, and Vibrants

Semivowels (or "glides" or "approximants") in SB are classified as labial /v/, palatal /y/, and retroflex /ɻ/. Labio-dental [v] and slightly more labialized [w] are allophonic variants of /v/. The distinction is very marginal in nature. The allophonic variant [w] (which is probably slightly less rounded than the regular bilabial [w] in English [wʊl] 'wool', for example) may appear in contiguity with (i.e., either before or after) a round vowel, as in [gawu] 'bird species', and [buwa] 'cow', in which cases it could be argued to be epenthetic. It also appears post-vocalically in word-final position, as in [qiw-piriw] 'chirping (Onom.)'.

Phonemic contrasts between different semivowels are illustrated in analogous environments in (17) as follows:

(17) Phonemic contrast between various semivowels

a. Retroflex vs. Palatal: /y/ ~ /ɻ/ contrast

yar 'before'	ɻaɻ 'fast'
ayaš 'sky'	aɻa 'father'

c. Labial vs. Palatal: /v/ ~ /y/ contrast

varc 'right (side)'	yar 'early'
bay 'winter'	qaw 'call (n.)

d. Labial vs. Retroflex: /v/ ~ /ɻ/ contrast

varc 'right (side)'	ɻaɻ 'fast'	(word-initial)
qaw 'call (n.)'	ɣaɻ 'left (side)'	(word-final)

The retroflex glide /ɻ/ is often replaced by the palatal glide [y], leading to inter-speaker variation. Thus /ɣaɻ/ 'right (side)' and /doɻ/ 'left (side)' may surface as [ɣay] and [doy], respectively. Note that the occurrence of the voiced retroflex glide /ɻ/ is very rare in the language. For the illustration of the occurrence of different semivowels in various environments in SB, consider the data in (18):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(18) Occurrence of semivowels/glides in different environments:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
	(Pre-vocalic)	(Inter-vocalic)	(Post-vocalic)
Labial /v/	vaxt 'time'	buwa 'cow'	pʰiw 'flies (n.)'[3]
	valto 'four'	gawu 'bird species'	qiw-piriw 'chirping (Onom.)'
	valimi 'it fell'	ava 'yes'	qaw 'call (n.)'
Palatal /y/	yeecimi 'he saw him/it'	ayaš 'sky'	loy 'fox'
	ya 'beer'	ẓayit 'male goat'	–
	yaare 'below/under'	uyum 'big'	–
Retroflex /ɻ/	ɻaɻ 'fast'	yuuɻas '(for it) to dry'	ɻaɻ 'fast'
		aɻa 'my father'	laaɻ 'cucumber'

Liquids include lateral /l/ and vibrant /r/. The phonemic contrast between them is illustrated by the examples in (19).

(19) Liquids: phonemic contrast between /l/ and /r/

pʰul 'cup'	pʰur 'flight'
cʰil 'water'	cʰir 'line'
malaq 'falling/rolling (n.)'	maraq (etas) '(to) twist'

Liquids occur in all different positions, viz. word-initial, word-medial, and word-final. Consider the data in (20) for illustration:

(20) Occurrence of liquids in different environments:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
Lateral /l/:	leel 'knowledge'	pʰul-ainc 'cups'	pʰul 'cup'
	loy 'fox'	halanc 'crescent'	mal 'field'

3 As noted earlier, /v/ surfaces as [w] post-vocalically in word-final position and intervocalically adjacent to a round vowel.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Vibrant /r/:	rax 'desire'	šuriyaar 'happiness'	ǰaṭur 'quince'
	ram-ram 'flap wings; Onom.'	kʰaraṭi 'basket'	haɣur 'horse'

The phonemic contrast between the retroflex glide /ɻ/ and the vibrant liquid /r/ is illustrated in (21):

(21) /ɻ/ ~ /r/ contrast
ɣar 'song' ɣaɻ 'right (side)'

2.1.2 *Vowels and Phonemics of Vowels*

The distinctive phonemic inventory of vowels in SB is given in Table 5. Vowels are classified into short vowels /i, e, a, o, u / and long vowels /ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/.

TABLE 5 Vowel phonemes

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
High	i, ii		u, uu
Mid	e, ee		o, oo
Low		a, aa	

Though vowel length is phonemic, short vowels are more common than long vowels, and the latter are generally restricted to non-final positions. In the case of mid vowels, the short vowels /e/ and /o/ are phonetically closer to the corresponding lower mid vowels (the latter are generally designated in the literature as [ɛ] and [ɔ], respectively). There is no phonemic contrast between mid-high and mid-low vowels; the use of symbols [e] and [o] is preferred over [ɛ] and [ɔ]. Often, [e] and [o] are in free variation with [i] and [u], respectively. They are, however, treated as separate phonemes because they contrast in certain environments. Note that the vowels /i, ii, ee, a, aa, oo, u, uu/ are also found in many areal languages (e.g., Indo-Aryan Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, etc.), while the short vowels /e/ and /o/ are characteristic of Dardic languages such as Shina, Khowar, and Kashmiri.

Phonemic contrast for vowel length in analogous environments in SB is illustrated in (22) as follows:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(22) Phonemic contrast for vowel length

a. High front: /i/ versus /ii/ contrast

mi 'we'	mii 'our'
hir 'man'	asiir 'near'
pʰaalis 'little'	ɣaliis 'sick'
ɣaniṣ 'gold'	

b. High back: /u/ versus /uu/ contrast

ǰuk 'touch'	ǰuuk 'grief'
gušpur 'prince'	sabuur 'tomorrow'
u 'they'	uu 'their' (cf. HB *uve*)

c. Low central: /a/ versus /aa/ contrast

ɣar 'song'	ɣaan 'crow'
šat 'strength'	saaṭi 'day before yesterday'
dal 'out of'[4]	daal (etas) '(to) lift'

d. Mid front: /e/ versus /ee/ contrast

še 'eat.IMP'	šee 'wool'
den 'year'	deelum '(something that has been) heard; hear-NMLZ'
besen 'what'	bezeele 'how'
etas 'to do'	eetas 'to make (somebody) do'

e. Mid back: /o/ versus /oo/ contrast

os 'their heart'	oos 'keep; IMP'

The phonemic contrast in different vowels based on tongue height is illustrated by the data in (28):

(28) Vowel contrasts based on tongue height

a. Contrast between /i/ and /e/

eti 'do; IMP'	ete 'that; [–H, II]'
bi 'is; [–H, I]'	be 'no'

b. Contrast between /a/ and /e/

ba 'I am, you are'	be 'no'
dan 'stone'	den 'year'
sa 'sun'	sen 'say; IMP'

4 This is a rarely used postposition and occurs with a small class of nouns. For example, *daari dal* 'out of the window'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. Contrast between /o/ and /a/
bo 'she is' ba 'I am'
tom 'tree' tam 'swimming (n.)'

d. Contrast between /ii/ and /ee/
asiir 'near' map^{h}eer 'old man'

e. Contrast between /uu/ and /oo/
ǰuu 'thanks' ǰoo 'give me; IMP'

f. Contrast between /aa/ and /ee/
daari 'window' deeri 'send him; IMP'
daal (etas) 'to elevate' deelum '(something that's been) heard; hear-NMLZ'

g. Contrast between /oo/ and /aa/
ǰoo 'give me; IMP' ǰaa '1SG.GEN' or '1SG.ERG'

Note that there are inter-speaker as well as intra-speaker variations in SB such that the distinction between [u] and [o] and between [i] and [e] is sometimes lost. For example, [duro] ~ [doro] 'work (n.)', [doonimi] ~ [duunimi] '(he) caught/held (somebody)', [bom] ~ [bum] 'she was', [xorma] ~ [xurma] 'dates' (< Ur. *xorma*), [hilešo] ~ [hilešu] 'men', and [dasin] ~ [dasen] 'girl'. This contrast is maintained in HB: [bum] 'dry' versus [bom] 'she was'.

Most vowels can occur in initial, medial, and final syllables. Consider the examples in (23):

(23) Distribution of vowels in different positions in a word
a. Front vowels: /i/, /ii/, /e/, and /ee/

	Initial syllable	Medial syllable	Final syllable
/i/	mi 'we'	hirikanc 'men'	ak^{h}il 'such/like'
	hir 'man'	dasivanc 'girls'	p^{h}aalis 'less, little'
			šadi 'monkey'
/ii/	mii 'our'	dišiimi '(it) opens'	asiir 'near'
/e/	bešal 'where'	umere 'to you'	ume 'your'
	eti 'do; IMP'		
/ee/	yeecimi 'he saw'	diyeeyas 'to wake up'	map^{h}eer 'old man'
	deeri 'send him; IMP'	map^{h}eeri 'old woman'	

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. Back vowels: /u/, /uu/, /o/ and /oo/

	Initial syllable	Medial syllable	Final syllable
/u/	u 'they' cʰupuṣ 'sorrow' bula 'polo'	momupuṣ 'her nose' ququruuču 'cock-a-doodle-doo; (Onom.)'	burum 'white' gaṭu 'dress'
/o/	doro 'work' oltalik 'both' osqanimi 'he killed them'	balogan 'egg plant'	qarqaamučo 'poultry; PL' heevaayo 'animals'
/uu/	uu 'their' duunimi 'he opened (it)'	ququruuču 'cock-a-doodle-doo; (Onom.)'	sabuur 'tomorrow'
/oo/	ooɣatanas 'teacher' doonimi 'he caught (it)'	inooški 'his pillow'	uyoon 'all'

c. Central vowels: /a/ and /aa/

	Initial syllable	Medial syllable	Final syllable
/a/	ǰa 'I' han 'one; [+H]'	ooɣatanas 'teacher'	dila 'be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]' ooɣatanas 'teacher'
/aa/	ǰaa 'my' haa 'house/home'	ǰavaayu 'youths'	manaas 'to happen'

As in other dialects of Burushaski, long vowels in SB are often shortened in rapid speech, except when the shortening would result in lexical ambiguity (cf. *ǰa* 'I' ~ *ǰaa* 'my', *ha* 'house.ABS' ~ *haa* 'house.GEN'). This is especially true of polysyllabic words. Some examples where vowel shortening was attested in SB are: *gupaaltiŋ* ~ *gupaltiŋ* 'trouser(s)', *doonimi* ~ *donimi* '(he) caught (it)', etc.

2.2 Syllable Structure

SB syllable structure follows the basic pattern observed in other dialects of Burushaski. Most of the phonological limitations are shared with the sister

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

dialects, and monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic words are found. Consider the data in (24) for illustration (note: the syllable boundary is represented by a dot "."):

(24) Mono-, di-, and polysyllabic words in SB

a. Monosyllabic words

u	'they'
sa	'sun'
aṣ	'my neck'
in	'he/she'
buš	'cat'
pʰin	'fly (insect)'
tum	'tree'

b. Disyllabic words

ga.ṭu	'dress (n.)'
ba.ṭa	'bald (man)'
ha.ɣur	'horse'
as.qur	'flower'
guš.pur	'prince'
ha.lanc	'crescent'

c. Polysyllabic words

hi.la.šu	'boys'
šu.ri.yaar	'happiness'
di.ši.miŋ (~ diš.miŋ)	'places'
hi.ri.kanc	'men'
qar.qaa.mu.čo	'poultry; (PL)'
qar.qaa.mu.čo.yik	'poultry; (Indefinite Plural)'

Thus, in (24) above, we see up to five syllables in a word. Longer words with more syllables are not attested in the present corpus.

In the following sections, we will discuss the different types of syllables found in SB and provide a description of SB phonotactic constraints in terms of the limitations on the distribution of sound sequences, viz., consonants and vowels.

2.2.1 *Types of Syllables*

Both open and closed syllables are permitted in Burushaski. An inventory of possible syllables in SB is provided in (25):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(25) Different types of syllables in SB

a. (C)V syllables

sa	'sun'
bi	'is.[–H, I]'
a.mis	'which.[–H, I]'
c^{h}u.puṣ	'sorrow'
ha.ɣu.ri.šu	'horses'

b. (C)VC syllables

in	'he/she'
aṣ	'my neck'
buš	'cat'
buk	'throat'
bay	'winter'
sel	'needle'
e.tas	'to do'
ha.ɣur	'horse'
da.sin	'girl'
as.qur	'flower'

c. (C)VV syllables

uu	'they; Ergative'
au.lus	'my brother (when possessor is feminine)'
daa.ri	'window'
dee.ri	'spread; send in X (a male); Imperative'
ǰa.vaa.ni	'youth' (< Ur. *ǰavaani*)

d. (C)VVC syllables

aam	'mango' (< Ur. *aam*)
a.siir	'near'
šu.ri.yaar	'happiness'

e. (C)VC$_1$C$_2$ syllables

bask	'a lot'
urk	'wolf'
varc	'in proper order; right'
ha.ralt	'rain'
ha.lanc	'crescent'
da.si.vanc	'girls'
hi.ri.kanc	'men'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

f. (C)VVC$_1$C$_2$ syllables

giilt	'Gilgit (placename)'
baalt	'apple'
bu.šainc	'cats'
bu.nainc	'rocks'

g. C$_1$C$_2$V(C) syllables

t^{h}raq	'tearing (into two pieces)'
praq	'clapping together'
t^{h}ra.t^{h}raq	'tearing into many pieces'

h. C$_1$C$_2$VV(C) syllables

preeš	'preparations'

Thus, from the examples in (25) above, we observe different types of syllables in SB, viz., (C)V, (C)VC, (C)VV, (C)VVC, (C)VC$_1$C$_2$, (C)VVC$_1$C$_2$, C$_1$C$_2$V, C$_1$C$_2$V(C), and C$_1$C$_2$VV(C).[5] Among these, C$_2$ in initial clusters is represented by *r*. Thus, we have CrV, CrVC, CrVV and CrVVC as the possible syllable types with initial clusters. In the case of final clusters, C$_1$ is represented by *s* (rare), *r, l* or a nasal homorganic with the following C, and C$_2$ is a stop or an affricate (more on this in the following section).

2.2.2 *Phonotactics*

This section deals with the structure of the various possible sound sequences attested in SB, viz., consonant clusters and vowel clusters. We will see that the various permitted clusters and exceptions are more or less consistent with the available patterns in many areal languages.

2.2.2.1 Consonant Clusters

Biconsonantal clusters are quite common in Burushaski. However, tri-consonantal clusters are rarely found.[6] The occurrence of clusters is restricted in that only specific consonants can form a cluster in a certain position. As noted earlier, initial clusters are restricted to the type Cr-.[7] Although many of these clusters occur in borrowings, there are various native instances as well. As far

5 Note that closed long syllables with initial clusters are very rare in Burushaski.

6 A tri-consonantal cluster was found in *xurcxamaš* 'garbage' (</xurc-xamaš/ 'dust-garbage'), which is a compound.

7 A typical areal feature. This is also true of Kashmiri, Hindi/Urdu, and many other modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

as the present database and evidence are concerned, the first consonant of a word-initial cluster is always a stop, as indicated by the examples in (26) as follows:

(26) Initial Clusters: [stop + r]

praq	'clapping together' (*praq etas* 'to clap')
brasput	'Thursday'[8]
traŋ	'middle'
t^{h}raq	'to tear (into two pieces)'
graamar	'grammar'[9] (borrowing from English)

The consonant clusters of the type [sibilant + r], [sibilant + l], or [stop + sibilant] in the initial position are not attested in SB.[10] Anderson (1997) argues for a very limited number of initial Cy- clusters in words such as *čyu* 'chirping; Onom.', *q*(*i*)*yu* 'shout; Onom.', and *pyu*(*wan*) 'a little,' based on the other varieties of Burushaski. He further claims that initial clusters are not found in any Burushaski verb root.[11] Based on evidence from the present study, it seems clusters of the type Cy- are absent in SB, and that a vowel occurs between the initial consonant and the semivowel. Examples to support this argument include forms such as SB *qiw-piw* 'shouting; Onom.' (**qyu-pyu*), which corresponds to, or at least is very similar to, the forms *q*(*i*)*yu* 'shout; Onom.' and *pyu*(*wan*) 'a little,' as discussed by Anderson (1997).

Initial [sibilant + stop] and initial [stop + l] clusters are not attested in SB. Thus, loanwords with such clusters undergo epenthesis (vowel insertion) as illustrated in (26) and (27):

(26) No initial [sibilant + stop] clusters: English loanwords in SB

sokuul/sukuul	'school' (cf. E. /skul/)[12]
sikiim	'scheme' (cf. E. /skim/)[13]

8 Compare Sh. *brasput* 'Thursday'.

9 Compare K., Ur. *graamar* 'grammar'.

10 Initial clusters of the type *šr-* are present in Kashmiri and Hindi. For example, K. *šraad* 'name of a religious ritual among Hindus', K. *šraan* 'bath (n.)', K. *šrap-un* '(of food) to get digested', H. *šraap* 'a bad curse'. Note that the sibilant in these cases is always the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative [š].

11 This does not seem to be entirely true in that certain verb roots do contain initial clusters. Consider, HB /(moo)-ltir-/ 'X shows Y to Z' with stem-initial cluster /lt/ (historically /lt/ may have been a single consonant segment).

12 Compare K. *sokuul* or *sukuul*, Ur. *iskuul*.

13 Compare K. *sikiim*, Ur. *iskiim*.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(27) No initial [stop + l] clusters: English loanwords in SB
kulaat^{h} 'cloth' (cf. E. /klaθ/)
kulooz 'close' (cf. E. /klowz/)

Word-final clusters are mainly restricted to [nasal + stop/affricate] (where the two consonants share the place of articulation), [lateral + stop/affricate], and [sibilant + stop]. However, final [sibilant + stop] clusters are very rare. Consider the examples in (28):

(28) Final clusters
a. [nasal + affricate]
gunc 'day'
halanc 'crescent'
dasivanc 'girls'

b. [liquid + stop/affricate]
urk 'wolf'
ɣulk 'well (n.)'
giilt 'Gilgit'
baalt 'apple'
varc '(in) proper order; right'
bisarç 'sickle'

c. [sibilant + stop]
bask 'more'

Thus, in (28)-a, we have word-final [nasal + affricate] cluster in *gunc* 'day/daily', *dasivanc* 'girls', and *halanc* 'crescent'. Notice that the nasal consonant preceding the obstruent (affricate) is a homorganic nasal: that is, it shares its place of articulation with the following consonant. In (28)-b, we have word-final [liquid + stop] clusters in *urk* 'wolf', *giilt* 'Gilgit' and *baalt* 'apple' and [liquid + affricate] clusters in *varc* '(in) proper order/right' and *bisarç* 'sickle'. And in (28)-c, we have a final [sibilant + stop] cluster in *bask* 'more'.[14] The occurrence of the latter type is very rare and only one instance was found in the present corpus.

Although consonant clusters containing homorganic nasals are allowed in Burushaksi, loanwords with [nasal + stop] clustlers are often nativized by the deletion of the stop consonant. Thus, we have SB *ban* 'closed' and *taŋ* 'tight, irritated' from Urdu *band* and *taŋg* (respectively). This is also true of HB and

14 Anderson (1997) reports final [-šk] in *tiišk* 'dagger' from the Pakistani dialects of Burushaski.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

NB, though YB seems to have retained the cluster in loanwords (cf. YB *taŋg*; see Chapter 7 for more on this).[15]

The absence of final [nasal + sibilant] clusters is illustrated in (29) as follows:

(29) No final [nasal + sibilant] clusters: Vowel epenthesis in loanwords
sainas 'science' (*saiəns; cf. Eng. /saiəns/)

Notice that the final cluster [-ns] is broken up by the insertion of a vowel between *n* and *s* (cf. K. *sainas* 'science').[16]

As mentioned above, all attested word-final clusters are possible candidates for word-medial clusters in SB. In fact, there is a larger inventory of medial than of final clusters, including certain clusters not usually found in word-final position. However, the only attested word-initial consonant cluster type [stop + r] is not found in medial position. For the illustration of different possible word-medial consonant clusters in SB, consider the examples in (30).

(30) Medial clusters

a. [nasal + stop/affricate]

altambo	'eight'
indil	'his chest'
sindiṣ	'swan'
kanṭei	'kite'
quŋqucuuču[17]	'cock-a-doodle-doo; Onom.'
gunciŋ	'days'

b. [sibilant + stop/affricate]

dustak	'pot'
yasdaro	'(his) sisters'
isken	'three'
askardu	'Skardu (place name)'
asqur	'flower'
inooški	'his pillow'
aṣçiŋ	'my back'

15 A possible (Indo-Aryan) loanword *šaŋali* 'door chain' provides further evidence that [nasal + stop] clusters are simplified in the language (cf. K. *haaŋkal* 'door chain').

16 This could also be an indirect borrowing through language contact.

17 Note that the symbol *ŋ* is used in this example for what is essentially an uvular nasal resulting from assimilation triggered by the uvular stop *q*.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. [liquid + stop]

oltalik	'both'
daltas	'beautiful/good'
altambo	'eight'
alto	'two'
baaltišu	'apples'
urkainc	'wolves'
qarqaamuc	'rooster/hen/bird'

d. [liquid + nasal]

girminum	'(that which is) written'

e. [liquid + fricative]

ɣalɣu	'insect'

Thus, we have clusters such as [nasal + stop/affricate] (i.e., *-nd-, -nṭ-, -ŋq-*, and *-nc-* in (30)-a), [sibilant + stop/affricate] (i.e., *-st-, -sd-, -sk-, -sq-, -šk-*, and *-ṣç-* in (30)-b), [liquid + stop] (i.e., *-lt-, -rk-*, and *-rq-* in (30)-c), [liquid + nasal] (i.e., *-rm-* in (30)-d), and [liquid + fricative] (i.e., *-lɣ-* in (30)-e) in medial position. Notice that in addition to the clusters which are attested in word-final position (as observed in (28) above), medial clusters also include [r + nasal] sequences (i.e., *-rm-* in *girminum* in (30)-d above), which are not attested word-finally.

There are also some medial clusters of the type [stop + stop] such as *-tk-* in *pʰutkiṣ* 'mad' where the two adjacent consonants share the voice quality.

Note that the syllable boundary in the case of medial clusters always falls between the two adjacent consonants. Thus, *qarqaamuc* and *urkainc* are parsed as [qar.qaa.muc] and [ur.kainc], respectively.

Neither medial nor final [C + sibilant] clusters are attested in SB. Suffixation of words/stems which end in consonants often involves morphophonological operations that avoid such clusters. This is illustrated by the examples in (38) below, where the plural forms of words ending in stops, nasals, and liquids undergo epenthesis (vowel insertion between two consonants coming into contact), while those ending in sibilants undergo deletion of the final consonant of the base form when followed by the plural marking suffix *-šu*, which begins with a sibilant (see (31-a) and (31-b) respectively).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(31) No medial [C + sibilant] clusters

a. Vowel epenthesis

qalam 'pen'	*qalamišu* 'pens'
kʰapun 'spoon'	*kʰapunišu* 'spoons'
baalt 'apple'	*baaltišu* 'apples'
aam 'mango'	*aamišu*'mangoes'
hayur 'horse'	*hayurišu* 'horses'

b. Consonant deletion

hilas 'boy'	*hilašu* 'boys'
belis 'ewe'	*belišu* 'ewes'
pʰariṣ 'duck'	*pʰarišu* 'ducks'

There is a general tendency to avoid cross-morphemic clusters (candidates for medial position) in the language. This is not only evident from the examples in (31) above but also in some other cases where medial clusters do not violate the attested patterns. Consider the example in (32) for illustration:

(32) Avoidance of medial clusters: Epenthesis
hir 'man' + *-kanc* 'Plural' > *hirikanc* 'men'

Thus, in (32) above, an otherwise attested cluster *-rk-* is avoided by vowel epenthesis; however, this is not the case in *urkainc* 'wolves' (< *urk* 'wolf' + *-ainc* ('Plural')).

Geminate clusters of the type C_1C_1 are not permitted in SB, except for some Arabic borrowings in formal speech (e.g., *mutallaq* 'regarding (something)'). This is also true of many languages spoken in the region which are influenced by Arabic (through the advent of Islam). It should be noted that such geminates are only used by speakers who have, at least, a good reading knowledge of Arabic.

2.2.2.2 Vowel Clusters

A sequence of two vowels next to each other, i.e., V_1V_2, is generally, but not always, cross-morphemic in Burushaski. There are instances of morpheme-internal vowel sequences in some roots and affixes though these are not very common. Some of the common vowel clusters found in SB are [ai], [au], and [ui]. Consider the examples in (33) and (34) for illustration:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(33) Cross-morphemic vowel sequences
[a-u]: *a-u* 'my father' (= '1SG-father')
ma-ul 'your stomach' (= '2PL-stomach')
[u-i]: *u-ir-uman* 'they died (='3PL-die-PST.PL ')
gu-ir-uma 'you died' (= '2SG-die-PST.2SG')

(34) Morpheme-internal vowel sequences
[au]: *baum* 'mare'
[ai]: *bušai* 'land'
huk-ainc 'dogs' (i.e., 'dog-PL')
ma-s-ainc 'your hearts' (i.e., '2PL-heart-PL')
urk-ainc 'wolves' (i.e., 'wolf-PL')
buš-ainc 'cats' (i.e., 'cat-PL')

Note that there is inter-speaker variation and more than one pronunciation is available for some cases. For example, the plural marking suffix *-ainc* may surface as *-eenc* for some speakers. Thus, we have variations such as *huk-ainc* ~ *huk-eenc* 'dog-PL', *urk-ainc* ~ *urk-eenc* 'wolf-PL', *buš-ainc* ~ *buš-eenc* 'cat-PL', etc.

According to Anderson (1997), there is a phonotactic constraint in Burushaski which prevents homorganic sequences of glide + vowel. Thus, phonemic sequences **yi-* and **vu-* (**wu-* in Anderson 1997) are not permitted in the language. Sequences *yi-* and *vu-* (or *wu-*) do not contrast with *i-* and *u-* in word-initial position. A word-initial high front vowel *i* is often expressed as the palatal glide [y] when followed by a high back vowel; the change is accompanied by the lengethening of the vowel. Consider the data in (35) for illustration:

(35) Word-initial *i* > *y* when followed by high back vowel
yuuyas 'to give (him)' < *i-* '3MSG' + *-u-as* 'give-INF'
yuuṭis 'his foot' < *i-* '3MSG' + *-uṭis* 'foot'
yuul 'his stomach/belly' < *i-* '3MSG' +*-ul* 'stomach/belly'

That the vowel in each of the examples in (35) is long indicates that the change possibly involves epenthesis (*y*-insertion) followed by *sandhi* (i.e., */ i-+ -u /* (epenthesis) > *yiu* (sandhi) > [yuu]). Alternatively, vowel lengthening could be viewed as a compensation for the *i>y* change which would otherwise result in the loss of a vocalic segment.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

2.3 Basic Stress Pattern

Owing to intense linguistic contact with Kashmiri (and Urdu), the stress pattern in SB exhibits certain differences or innovations as opposed to the other dialects of Burushaski. Based on the present analyses, the stress assignment in SB appears to be sensitive to quantitative (syllable weight), positional (position of the syllable in the overall word), and (perhaps also) rhythmic (distance between stressed or between unstressed syllables) constraints – features characteristic of the stress pattern in Kashmiri. Every content word in SB is stressed. Stress is iambic and iterative. It is also sensitive to the morphological make-up of a word.[18]

2.3.1 *Basic Stress Generalizations*

Some of the basic generalizations about the stress pattern of underived words in SB based on the data in this study are:

a) Heavy syllables are always stressed. By "heavy", we mean closed syllables and syllables with long vowels (i.e., (C)VC and (C)VV(C) syllables; see data in (36) below).
b) In polysyllabic words, the rightmost heavy syllable receives primary stress (see data in (37) below).
c) In the case of two adjacent stressed syllables, the second syllable receives primary stress, thus resulting in an iambic foot (e.g., *às.qúr* 'flower').
d) Final CV syllables are generally unstressed (see data in (38) below).
e) In a sequence of CV syllables, the second syllable is stressed if it is non-final. Stress falls on the first syllable in disyllabic words with adjacent CV syllables (see data in (39) below).
f) An initial CV syllable is unstressed if it is followed by a closed syllable, a syllable containing a long vowel, or a non-final CV syllable (see data in (40) below).
g) In the case of inflected verbs, the stress domain is constituted of the verb stem including pronominal prefixes (if present) but excluding agreement suffixes (see data in (41) and (42) below).
h) Pronominal prefixes in inherently-possessed nouns are generally stressed and thus behave like independent words for stress purposes (see data in (43) below).

18 The stress pattern in SB resembles that of Kashmiri in some, but not all, respects.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Stress falls on every syllable which contains a long vowel. This is true irrespective of the position of the syllable. Consider the data in (36) for illustration as follows:

(36) Stress on every syllable containing a long vowel

dée.ri	'spread; send in X (male); Imperative'
háa.ri	'sparrow(s)'
qàr.qáa.mùc	'rooster/hen/bird'
ǰa.váa.yu	'youths, young people' (<*ǰavaan*+ *-yu*)
ǰa.vàa.níi	'youth'
sa.búur	'tomorrow'
a.síir	'near'
hu.kéenc	'dogs'
bu.šéenc	'cats'

If there is more than one heavy syllable (i.e., a syllable containing a long vowel) in a word, the primary stress falls on the rightmost heavy syllable, as exemplified by *ǰa.vàa.níi* 'youth' in (36) above.

Stress falls on every closed syllable. This is true irrespective of the position of the syllable in the stress domain, as illustrated by the examples in (37):

(37) Stress on every closed syllable

húk	'dog'
ha.ɣúr	'horse'
ma.líŋ	'fields'
ču.rúk	'cut (n.)'
às.qúr	'flower'
gùš.púr	'prince'
bràs.pút	'Thursday'
gràa.már	'grammar'
ba.lo.gán	'eggplant'
qàr.qáa.mùc	'rooster/hen/bird'

Notice that every closed syllable is stressed in (37) leading to stress clash in certain cases. Further, when two stressed syllables occur next to each other, the primary stress falls on the second syllable, thus resulting in iambic feet (cf. *às.qúr* 'flower', *gùš.púr* 'prince', *gràa.már*, etc.).

Every final CV syllable is unstressed in SB. This is illustrated by the data in (38):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(38) Final CV syllable unstressed in polysyllabic words

pá.či	'cloth'
ša.ŋá.li	'door chain'
ǰa.váa.yu	'youths, young people'
i.dé.li.mi	'he beat him'
mu.dé.li.mi	'he beat her'
ha.ɣú.ri.šu	'horses'

Note that the only cases where final CV syllables are stressed are monosyllabic words, such as *sá* 'sun', *dú* '(baby) goat', etc.

If a word contains a sequence of adjacent CV syllables, the second syllable of the word is stressed if it is non-final. If a word contains only two syllables and both are CV, then the first syllable is stressed. Consider the data in (39) for illustration:

(39) Stress pattern in words containing a sequence of CV syllables

pá.či	'cloth'
qá.ṣi	'at/near (something)'
ša.ŋá.li	'door chain'
ha.ɣú.ri.šu	'horses'

Thus, in (39) above, stress falls on the first syllable in disyllabic *pá.či* and *qá.ṣi*, and on the second syllable in polysyllabic *ša.ŋá.li* and *ha.ɣú.ri.šu*. (Note: a slightly deviant stress pattern has emerged in some, but not all, historically polysyllabic words containing adjacent CV syllables, where the primary stress falls on the first syllable. This is often accompanied by syncope of an unstressed medial vowel. For example, SB *mákučìm* ~ *mákčìm* 'middle (one)' from */makučim/. The pattern is the result of a contact-induced change in SB. For more on this, see Munshi (2010: 52)).

An initial CV syllable is unstressed if it is followed by a closed syllable, a syllable containing a long vowel, or a non-final CV syllable. Consider the data in (40) for illustration:

(40) No stress on a CV syllable in initial position when followed by a heavy syllable:

ha.ɣúr	'horse'
ču.rúk.ne	'having cut'
a.síir	'near'
ǰa.váa.yu	'youths'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Stress is sensitive to morphology. In the case of inflected verbs, the stress domain is the verb stem minus any agreement marking suffixes. Consider the examples in (41) where the verb stem receives stress, in spite of being ineligible to get stress should the generalizations presented earlier apply irrespective of the verb morphology:

(41) Stress on the verb stem in inflected verbs

a. *é.ti*
/et-i/
do-IMP
'do; (Imperative)'

b. *sé.nu.mo*
/sen-umo/
say-PST.3FSG
'she said'

c. *dóo.ni.mi*
/doon-imi/
open-PST.3MSG
'he opened (it)'

d. *gi.ré.ti.mi*
/giret-imi/
dance/play-PST.3MSG
'he danced/played'

e. *gu.c^{h}á.ru.mo*
/guc^{h}ar-umo/
walk-PST.3FSG
'she walked/passed away'

Thus, in examples in (41) above, for each of the inflected verbs containing a monosyllabic stem (e.g., /et-/ 'do', /sen-/ 'say', and /doon-/ 'open'), it is the initial syllable which is stressed in spite of the presence of a following, otherwise stress-eligible, syllable in the inflectional suffix (e.g., *é.ti/*e.tí* 'do; Imperative', *sé.n-u.mo/*se.n-ú.mo* 'he said'). In the case of an inflected verb containing a disyllabic stem (e.g., /giret-/ 'dance/play' and /guc^{h}ar-/ 'walk'), the stress falls on the second syllable.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

In the case of inflected verbs with pronominal prefixes and other verbal prefixes (such as the negative prefix *a-* and the *d*-prefix, discussed at length in the chapter on verb morphology), the stress domain consists of the verb root plus the prefix. Thus, the primary stress falls on the second syllable (or second mora) of a verb stem containing a prefix. Consider the examples in (42) for illustration (note: only the assignment of the primary stress is shown here):

(42) Stress patterns in inflected verbs with prefixes

a. *i.dé.li.mi*
/i-del-imi/
3MSG-hit-PST.3MSG
'he hit him'

b. *mu.dé.li.mi*
/mu-del-imi/
3FSG-hit-PST.3MSG
'he hit her'

c. *u.dé.li.mi*
/u-del-imi/
3PL-hit-PST.3MSG
'he hit them'

d. *i.má.ni.mi*
/i-man-imi/
3MSG-become-PST.3MSG/
'he became'

f. *os.qá.nu.man*[19]
/u-sqan-uman/
3PL-kill-PST.3PL
'they killed them'

g. *du.qúš.qal.tu.ma*
/dV-gu-šqalt-uma /
d prefix-2SG-reach-PST.2SG
'you reached'

19 Note that *-sqan* 'kill' is composite in structure and is derived from *-s-* 'CAUSATIVE forming prefix'+ *-ɣan-* 'decay, wither'. More on this topic in the chapter on morphology.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

h. *deéš.qal.ti.mi*
/dV-i-šqalt-imi/
d prefix-3SG-reach-PST.3SG
'he reached'

i. *a.pí*
/a-bV-i/
NEG-be-PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
'(it) is not'

j. *a.páan*
/a-bV-an/
NEG-be-PRES.PL
'(they/we/you (Plural)) are not'

Note that in the case of the inflected verb 'be' in (42)-i and (42)-j above, an underlying vowel is posited for the verb root, which is sensitive to the noun class and is assimilated by the vowel of the agreement suffix followed by shortening if ocurring word-finally.[20]

In the case of nouns with pronominal prefixes, the stress domain is the inflected noun, which includes the prefix (note that pronominal prefixes appear in inherently-possessed nouns; these are discussed at length in Chapter 5). Consider the examples in (43) for illustration:

(43) Stress patterns in nouns with pronominal prefixes
a. *á.ço*
/a-ço/
1SG-brother (of a male)
'my brother'

b. *a.čʰár*
/a-čʰar/
1SG-voice
'my voice'

20 An alternative explanation would regard the stem as simply /b-/ with the following vowels, such as /-a/ and /-i/, as agreement suffixes (for [+h] and [-h] respectively; the underlying form of *bo* 'she is' would be */b-mu/).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *i.čʰár*
/i-čʰar/
3SG-voice
'his voice'

d. *i.xát*
/i-xat/
3SG-mouth
'his mouth'

e. *i.ḍím*
/i-ḍim/
3SG-body
'his body'

f. *mu.rí.ŋi.čaŋ*
/mu-riŋ-ičaŋ/
3FSG-hand-PL
'her hands'

Notice in (43)-a above, stress falls on a pronominal prefix which occupies the initial position in the disyllabic word containing two open syllables (i.e., V and CV). In the case of inflected (disyllabic) nouns in (43)-b to (43)-e, stress falls on the final closed syllable which is also the noun stem. In (43)-f, a polysyllabic noun containing a pronominal prefix, primary stress falls on the second syllable. The same stress rules apply to nouns without pronominal prefixes (see examples in (38), (39) and (40) above).

Given the limitations of this study, further investigations are needed to give a more detailed and clearer picture of the various restrictions on stress assignment.

2.4 Phonological Processes

Understanding the various phonological processes of a language plays an important role in tracing the development of a language – both in terms of its internal reconstruction as well as in the detection of foreign influences in the form of lexical adoptions. Some very common phonological changes occuring in Srinagar Burushaski include: assimilation (of different types), consonant devoicing, vowel deletion/elision, *svarabhakti* or epenthesis (vowel insertion),

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

devocalization, and vowel harmony. While many of these changes are purely phonological, some are morphologically motivated (e.g., vowel deletion or insertion).

2.4.1 *Consonantal Assimilation*

Various types of assimilatory processes are observed in SB, in which one sound becomes more similar to another sound in terms of one or more features. These include both contact assimilation (where the affected sound is in contact with the sound inducing the change) and distant assimilation (where the affected sound is not in direct contact with the sound inducing the change). Assimilation can be regressive (i.e., in a sequence of two sounds A … B, A becomes more like B) or progressive (i.e., in a sequence of two sounds A … B, B becomes more like A) in nature, though there is a bias towards regressive assimilation. Some of the common sound changes resulting from assimilation in consonants are retroflexion, voice assimilation, nasal assimilation, and a variety of other assimilatory changes triggered by palatal consonants.

2.4.1.1 Retroflexion

When a retroflex sibilant is followed by an affricate, the latter is assimilated and surfaces as a retroflex affricate. Consider the examples in (44) as follows:

(44) Retroflexion assimilation

a. /ṣ… č/ → [ṣ…ç]
Example: *ṣi-* 'eat' + *-č* 'Imperfective'> *ṣiç-* 'eat.IPFV' (cf. *ṣiyam* 'I ate' vs. *ṣiçam* 'I will eat')

b. /ẓ… č/ → [ẓ…ç]
Example: *ẓu-* 'come' + *-č* 'Imperfective' → *ẓuç-* 'come.IPFV' (cf. *ẓu* 'come; Imperative' vs. *ẓuçam* 'I will come'

Notice that the examples in (44) above are cases of distant assimilation, where a sibilant and a following (non-contiguous) affricate share the place of articulation. That the change is progressive in nature is further supported by examples such as *sooçi* 'female (of an animal)', where a sibilant *s* and a following (non-contiguous) affricate *ç* do not share the place of articulation (the latter being a retroflex consonant). That the underlying form of the sounds under consideration in (51) above is a /č/ is illustrated by examples such as *guc^{h}arčam* 'I will walk' (< *guc^{h}ar-* 'walk' + *-č* 'Imperfective').

Furthermore, there are no attested cases where a retroflex sibilant (such as *ṣ*) is immediately followed by a non-retroflex affricate. However, there are

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

cases where consonant clusters such as *-ʂç-* occur. For example, *aʂçiŋ* 'my back'. This type of contact assimilation is very common cross-linguistically, especially in the languages of South Asia (for more on retroflex consonant harmony in South Asian languages, see Arsenault 2012).[21]

2.4.1.2 Uvularization

There are no attested cases in SB where a velar stop [k] or [g] precedes or follows a uvular consonant such as [q] or [ɣ] in a word. However, there are many words with [q … q], [ɣ… q], or [ɣ…. ɣ] sequences. Consider the examples in (45) for illustration:

(45) Uvular assimilation

a. /q … q/
qarqaamučo 'poultry'
quŋquruuču 'cock-a-doodle-doo; (Onom.)'

b. /ɣ … ɣ/
ɣalɣu 'insect'

c. /ɣ … q/
ɣunaqiṣ 'bad'
ɣaqay 'bitter'
ɣusqi 'dough'

That the underlying consonant is possibly a velar sound (*k* or *g*) which is assimilated and changed to a uvular (*q* or *ɣ*, respectively) by the preceding (non-contiguous) uvular *q* or *ɣ* is illustrated by *ɣunaqiṣ* 'bad' in (45-c) where the adjective-forming suffix /-kiṣ/ surfaces as *-qiṣ*. Compare forms such as *pʰutkiṣ* 'crazy' (probably from *pʰut* 'ogre' + *-kiṣ* 'Adjective Marker'), *matukiṣ* 'wise' (< *matu* 'wisdom' + *-kiṣ* 'Adjective Marker'), *bayukiṣ* 'salty' (< *bayu* 'salt'+ *-kiṣ* 'Adjective Marker'), etc. On this basis, we can assume that the underlying form here has *k*. Although the underlying forms of the other words in (45) are not posited, it is clear from the evidence that distant assimilation has been at work in all of these cases. The absence of sequences like *[k…. q], *[q…. k], and *[ɣ…. k] further strengthens the argument.

21 Consonant clusters containing retroflex consonant have undergone simplification and weakening in some cases. Thus, we may have *-ʂç ~ -ʐ-* variation for some speakers.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

2.4.1.3 Nasal Assimilation

A nasal consonant in a medial or final cluster of the type [nasal + stop] or [nasal + affricate] is assimilated to the following consonant in terms of place of articulation. Consider the examples in (46):

(46) Nasal assimilation

altambo	'eight'
andil	'my chest'
sindiṣ	'swan'
kaṇṭei	'kite (bird)'
huṇṭi	'nine; [–H]'
hirikanc	'men'
huɲčo	'nine; [+H]'
quŋquruuču	'cock-a-doodle-doo; (Onom.)'

Notice in (46), we have homorganic nasals in clusters such as *-mb-* (bilabial), *-nd-* (dental), *-ṇṭ-* (retroflex), *-nc-* (dental), *-ɲč-* (palatal) and *-ŋq-* (velar).[22] Because these examples are morpheme-internal, we do not have evidence to show what the underlying forms are. This kind of nasal assimilation is extremely common across languages.

2.4.1.4 Other Assimilatory Changes

A number of changes in Burushaski are triggered by the phonotactic constraints on consonant clusters. Thus, when a suffix containing an initial palatal consonant is added to a stem constaining a final [–Palatal] consonant, the resulting cluster in simplified by the deletion of a consonant. Generally it is the second consonant from the input which surfaces in the output (note: sometimes the output may contain a consonant which has undergone weakening without deletion). This phonological process is observed in inflected nouns and verbs and is summarized as follows:

$$C_1 + C_{2[+\text{Palatal}]} \rightarrow C_{[+\text{Palatal}]}$$

22 Note that the retroflex and palatal nasals are not phonemic in Burushaski and are designated as "n" in the phonetic transcriptions elsewhere in this study.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Consider the examples in (47) and (48) for illustration:

(47) Consonantal changes in inflected nouns:

a. /n/ + /y/ → [y]
heevaan 'animal' + *-yo* 'Plural' → *heevaayo* 'animals'
šahin 'royal falcon' + *-yo* 'Plural' → *šahiyo* 'royal falcons'
dan 'stone' + *-yo* 'Plural' → *dayo* 'stones'

But,

pʰin 'fly (n.)' vs. *pʰiw* 'flies' (perhaps via *pʰiyo*; cf. HB *pʰiyo*)
ṗʰin 'sparrow' vs. *ṗʰiw* 'sparrows' (perhaps via *ṗʰiyo*)

b. /t/ + /č/ → [č]
axat '(my) mouth' + *-či* 'Locative' → *axači* 'in my mouth'

c. /s/, /ṣ/ + /š/ → [š]
hilas 'boy' + *-šu* 'Plural' → *hilašu* 'boys'
belis 'ewe' + *-šu* 'Plural' → *belišu* 'ewes'
pʰariṣ 'duck' + *-šu* 'Plural'→ *pʰarišu* 'ducks'

But,

baalt 'apple' + *-šu* 'Plural' → *baaltišu* 'apples' (No assimilation)

(48) Consonantal changes in inflected verbs:

a. /n/ + /y/ → [y]
man- 'become' + *-č* 'Imperfective' → *may-* 'become.IPFV'
(cf. *manaas* 'to become', *manimi* 'it became' vs. *mayimi* 'it will become')
sen- 'say' + *-č* 'Imperfective' → *sey-* 'become.IPFV'
(cf. *senas* 'to say', *senimi* 'he said' vs. *seyimi* 'he will say')

But,

gucʰar- 'walk' + *-č* 'Imperfective' → *gucʰarč-* 'walk.IPFV'
(cf. *gucʰaras* 'to walk', *gucʰarimi* 'he walked' vs. *gucʰarči* 'he will walk') (No assimilation)

b. /c/ + /š/ → [š]
gaarc- 'run' + *-č* 'Imperfective' → *gaarš-* 'run.IPFV'
(cf. *gaarcas* 'to run', *gaarcimi* 'he ran' vs. *gaaršu* 'he will run')

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. /t/ + /č/ → [č]
et- 'do'+ *-č* 'Imperfective' → *ečˇ-* 'do.IPFV'
(cf. *etas* 'to do', *etimi* 'he did' vs. *ečˇi* 'he will do')

d. /t/ + /č/ → [š]
giret- 'dance' + *-č* 'Imperfective' → *gireš-* 'dance.IPFV'
(cf. *giretas* 'to dance', *giretimi* 'he danced' vs. *gireši* 'he will dance')

Notice in (47) and (48) above that the outcomes of the change resulting from a phonotactic constraint are not always consistent. Thus, while we have the same input (i.e. /t/ + /č/) for the consonant cluster in question in (47)-b, (47)-c and (47)-d, the cluster simplification involves vowel insertion in *baaltišu* 'apples' (< *baalt* 'apple' + *-šu* 'Plural', and not **baalšu*) and assimilation (with different outputs) in *ečˇi* 'he will do' and *gireši* 'he will dance' (i.e., /t/ + /č/ → [č] and /t/ + /č/ → [š], respectively).[23] Some of these changes may possibly be a result of complete assimilation followed by degemination. Further investigation may give a better picture of the processes resulting in these different outcomes.[24]

2.4.2 *Final Neutralization of Obstruents*

Word-final neutralization of features is a very common cross-linguistic phenomenon. Like many other languages, Burushaski exhibits neutralization of various laryngeal features in word-final position (see Iverson & Salmons (2011) for an account of different languages involving loss or addition of various features in this position). There are no attested cases in SB where a distinction between [voiced], [aspirated, voiceless], and [unaspirated, voiceless] consonants is observed word-finally; the features [+Voice] and [+Aspiration] are lost in this position. Thus, only voiceless unaspirated stop consonants are found word-finally. This is illustrated by the data in (48) as follows:

23 Note that *baaltišu* 'apples' is probably a special case in which a consonant cluster [tš] is broken by the insertion of *i*. Thus, we have /baalt/ 'apple' + /-šu/ 'Pl.' > *baaltišu* (and not **baalču* or **baalšu*). This kind of vowel insertion is also observed in more cases where pluralization is involved. For more on this see Chapter 5 Morphology.

24 This kind of assimilation is also found in the data from other dialects. Thus, we have /t + $C_{[+Palatal]}$/ > [č] in *axačˇi* 'in my mouth' (cf. *axat* 'my mouth') and *apačˇi* 'beside me' (cf. *apat* 'my side') in HB.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(48) Word-final neutralization of stops: Occurrence of stops in various environments

a. Labial stops:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/b/	bu(w)a 'cow'	baba 'father'	–
	bar 'talk'	sabuur 'yesterday'	–
/p/	paysa 'money'	girpa 'sorrow'	čʰap 'meat'
	purmo 'long ago'	cʰupuṣ 'sorrow'	lip 'down'
/pʰ/	pʰolo 'raw mulberries'	mapʰeer 'old'	–
	pʰu 'blow (of air)'	–	–

b. Dental stops:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/d/	dasin 'girl'	šadi 'monkey'	–
	du 'young goat'	sindiṣ 'swan'	–
/t/	tiṣ 'wind'	altac 'two'	baalt 'apple'
	tom 'tree'	pʰutkiṣ 'mad'	haralt 'rain'
			šat 'power'
/tʰ/	tʰawun 'coriander'	matʰan 'far away'	–
	tʰam 'king'		

c. Retroflex stops:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/ḍ/	ḍaamal '(type of) drum'	ḍaḍaŋ 'drum'	–
	ḍako 'pillar'	iḍim '(his) body'	–
/ṭ/	ṭuṭaŋ 'dark'	buṭar 'goat/sheep'	ǰoṭ 'small/young'
	ṭam 'closed'		buṭ 'much/great amount'
/ṭʰ/	ṭʰari 'ball'[25]	–	–
	ṭʰumuk 'meeting'	–	–

25 The author could not find an example containing word-medial [ṭʰ] in the database. This may be an accidental gap or a discrepancy in the data.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

d. Velar stops:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/g/	gaarcas 'to run' gus 'woman'	šugulu 'friend'	–
/k/	kuc 'old' kaman 'a little'	hukay 'dogs'	huk 'dog' bask 'more'
/kʰ/	kʰole 'here' kʰaǰuna 'Burushaski'	akʰar 'myself'	–

e. Uvular stops:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/q/	quŋquruču 'cock-a-doodle-doo (Onom.)' qaw 'call (noun)'	qarqaamučo 'poulty'	tʰraq 'tear into pieces' praq 'to clap together'

A similar pattern is observed in the affricates, where the phonemic contrast into [voiced], [aspirated, voiceless], and [unaspirated, voiceless] is lost in word-final position. Data in (49) illustrate this:[26]

(49) Word-final neutralization of affricates: Occurrence of affricates in various environments:
a. Alveo-palatal affricates:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/ǰ/	ǰoṭ 'small/young'	ilǰi 'behind'	–
/č/	čaɣaamiŋ 'talk (n.)'	čuču 'breast'[27]	–
/čʰ/	čʰayi 'key'	dačʰi 'give me; (Imperative)'[28]	–

26 Notice the absence of alveo-palatal affricates in word-final position. It is yet to be determined whether this is a true gap or a discrepancy in the data (cf. HB *pirč* 'cup'). A few examples, were, however available in lexical borrowings, such as *sooč* 'thinking' (< Urdu).

27 Cf. Sh. *čući* 'breast', Sk. *čuču, čući* 'breast'.

28 Note that the word *dačʰi* for 'give' is used only when the direct object is a liquid, like 'tea', 'water', 'milk'. It is also used when the direct object is 'sword', 'chisel', 'axe', or any other

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. Dental affricates:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/c/	capin 'sandal'	gaarcas 'to run'	amic 'which'
/cʰ/	cʰil 'water'	gucʰarimi 'he went'	-

c. Retroflex affricates:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/ç/	çaçak 'beating (of clothes in washing)'	aço 'my brother'	guç 'gorge'
		haliçi 'turmeric'[29]	duç 'sorrow'
/çʰ/	çʰamni 'hungry'	maçʰi 'honey'[30]	-

Just as with stops and affricates, there are no attested cases where a distinction into voiced and voiceless fricative consonants is observed in the word-final position. Thus only voiceless fricatives occur in word-final position. Consider the examples in (50) for illustration:

(50) Word-final neutralization of fricatives: Occurrence of fricatives in different environments

a. Alveolar:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/s/	sileẓin 'lady (polite)'	dasin 'girl'	hilas '(a) boy'
		asqur 'flower'	as '(my) heart'
/z/	zizi 'mother; address term'	bezeele 'how'	-

similar tool used for digging, etc. This class of nouns falls under what is designated as "Class II" of [-human] nouns in this study.

29 Cf. H./Ur. *haldii* 'turmeric'.

30 Cf. K. *maačʰ* 'honey'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. Alveo-palatal:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/š/	šat 'strenth'	bušoŋo 'cats'	buš 'cat'
		gušpur 'prince'	ayaš 'sky; climate'

c. Retroflex:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/ṣ/	ṣiyas 'to eat'	buṣai 'cultivated land'	aṣ 'my neck'
	ṣaqal 'bee'	aṣçiŋ 'my back'	
/ẓ/	ẓuk 'kidney'	sileẓin 'lady'	–
	ẓayit 'goat'		

d. Velar:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/x/	xaa 'until'	ixat 'his mouth'	rax 'desire'
	xurcxamaš 'garbage'	xurcxamaš 'garbage'	
/ɣ/	ɣalɣu 'insect'	čaɣa 'talk/story'	
	ɣuruuru 'heron'	haɣur 'horse'	

e. Glottal

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/h/	haɣur 'horse'	-	-
	har 'ox'	-	-

Loanwords with final voiced consonants in the source language are adapted to conform to this rule. Thus, we have *kitaap* 'book', *asbaap* 'reasons', *avlaat* 'offspring', *čiraq* 'candle' (from Urdu *kitaab, asbaab, aulaad*, and *čiraaɣ* respectively). Note that in formal speech, final devoicing is avoided, resulting in prestige

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

forms such as *kitaab* 'book', *asbaab* 'reasons', and *aulaad* 'offsprings', and *čiraaɣ* 'candle' (compare *raaz*, and not **raas*, from Urdu *raaz* 'secret').[31]

Also note that medial and final /h/ are not attested in the SB database; this may be due to a medial-deletion rule. Medial /h/ may also be deleted in other dialects.

2.4.3 *Sandhi* (*Vowel Assimilation*)

Several vowel changes are observed in SB which result from *sandhi* where vowels fuse across morpheme boundaries. Consider the examples in (55) for illustration:

(55) Some vowel changes in SB

a. /o/, /u/ + /e/ → [oo]
mo- '3FSG' + *etimi* 'he did; do.PST.3MSG' → *mootimi* 'he caused her to do'
mo- '3FSG'+ *etam* 'I did; do.PST.1SG' → *mootam* 'I caused her to do'
o- '3PL' + *etimi* 'do.PST.3MSG' → *ootimi* 'he caused them to do'

b. /o/ + /u/ → [oo]
du-mo-umo 'come-3FSG-PST.3FSG' → *dumoomo* 'she came'
kuuto 'pocket' + *ulu* 'in(side)' → *kuutoolu* 'in the pocket'

c. /i/ + /u/ → [ii]
baalṭi 'bucket' + *ulu* 'in(side)' → *baalṭiilu* 'in the bucket'

Thus, in (55-a), a pronominal prefix containing a back round vowel is followed by a front unrounded non-high vowel in the root, and the latter assimilates to the former for the feature [+round]. In (55-b), a mid back round vowel induces assimilation of the following high back round vowel in terms of height. In (55-c), a high front unround vowel followed by a high back round vowel, assimilates the latter. Interestingly, we also have other cases with similar phonological environments, but the direction of assimilation is different. For example, a sequence of /u + e/ changes to [ee] in *netin* 'having done' (perhaps via *neetin* < */nu-etin/* 'PTCP-do.PTCP'), *neegin* 'having sowed' (< */nu-eegin/* 'PTCP-sow.PTCP'), etc. where the following [–low, –high] (mid) vowel *e* absorbs the preceding back high round vowel *u.* Note that *netin* 'having done' (as opposed

31 Note that *raas* is a different word in Urdu used in the compound verb *raas aana* 'to suit'. A homophone *raas* means 'a genre of music/poetry' in Hindi/Urdu. It is possible that devoicing is not permitted in *raaz* in order to avoid lexical ambiguity.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

to (*)*neetin* 'having done') could be an outcome of vowel shortening (cf. the causative form *neetin* /nu-e-etin/ 'PTCP-CAUS-SOW.PTCP').

2.4.4 *Glide Insertion*

A semivowel or glide *y* or *v/w* is introduced between two vowels which do not share the feature [+/–high] or [+/–low]. Thus, a palatal glide *y* is inserted if the preceding vowel is [–round] and a labial glide (represented as) *v* is inserted if the preceding vowel is [+round]. Some examples to illustrate this are given in (56) as follows:

(56) Insertion of *y* or *v* in between two vowels

a. /a/ + /e/ → [aye]
a- 'Neg' + *eti* 'do; (Imperative)' → *ayeti* 'don't do'

b. /i/ + /a/ → [iya]
pʰiṭi 'bread' + *-an* 'SG.NDEF' → *pʰiṭiyan* 'a/one bread'
gaaḍi 'bus' + *-an* 'SG.NDEF' → *gaaḍiyan* 'a/one bus'

c. /u/ + /a/ → [uva]
šugulu 'friend' + *-an* 'SG.NDEF' → *šuɣuluvan* 'a friend'
gaṭu 'dress' + *-an* 'SG.NDEF' → *gaṭuvan* 'a dress'
du 'baby goat' + *-anc* 'PL' → *duvanc* 'baby goats'

Thus, in (56-b) and (56-c), the suffix *-an* (Singular Indefinite) surfaces as *-yan* after a stem ending in a high front unrounded vowel *-i* and as *-van* after a stem ending in a high back rounded vowel *-u* (cf. *dasin-an* 'a girl', *hiles-an* 'a boy' where the suffix is *-an*). In (56)-a, *y* is inserted between the central low unrounded vowel *a* and mid-high front unrounded vowel *e*. However, the glide insertion rule does not apply when the adjacent vowels in question have the same features. Thus, when an *a*-initial suffix follows an *a*-final root or another morpheme, the resulting surface form contains a long vowel. Consider the examples in (57) for illustration:

(57) No glide insertion
/a/ + /a/ → [aa]
šahzaada 'prince'+ *-an* 'SG.NDEF' → *šahzaadaan* 'a (certain) prince' (and not **šahzaadayan/*šahzaadavan* 'a (certain) prince')
meva 'fruit' *-an* 'SG.NDEF' → *mevaan* 'a (certain) fruit' (and not **mevayan/*mevavan* 'a (certain) fruit')

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

2.4.5 *Vowel Harmony*

There is strong evidence of vowel harmony in the language. Under this phenomenon, this study claims that a high back round vowel *u* is fronted (and unrounded) when followed by a high front (unrounded) vowel (i.e. *i*) in the following syllable. The change is regressive in nature and travels all the way to the left if more eligible targets (i.e., high back round vowels) are available in the underlying form. Note that this process is morphologically motivated and the change only occurs in cross-morphemic environments in inflected verbs. Consider the examples in (58) for illustration (note: the reconstructed underlying forms are designated with an asterisk "*" here):

(58) Vowel harmony

a. Harmony induced by a high front vowel in an inflectional suffix: */u … i/* → [i … i]
guc^{h}arimi 'he walked' (< *guc^{h}ar-um-i 'walk-PST-3MSG')
gaarcimi 'he ran' (< *gaarc-um-i 'run-PST-3MSG')
mudelimi 'he hit her' (< *mu-del-um-i '3FSG-beat-PST-3MSG')
yalimi 'he broke it' (< *yal-um-i 'break-PST-3MSG')
diimi 'he came' (< *dV-i-∅-i-um-i 'd-prefix-come-3MSG-PST-3MSG')

b. Harmony induced by a high front vowel in the verb stem: */u…. i/* → [i…. i]
nikirmin 'having written' (< *nu-girmin 'PTCP-write')[32]
nimin 'having drunk' (< *nu-min 'PTCP-drink')

However, when there is a non-front or non-high vowel following a high back vowel, no vowel harmony is triggered. Compare the data in (58) above with the examples in (59):

(59). Vowel harmony blocked when the following vowel is non-high

a. No harmony triggered by a non-high vowel in the inflectional suffix
guc^{h}arumo 'she walked' (< *guc^{h}ar-um-o 'walk-PST-3FSG)
gaarcumo 'she ran' (< *gaarc-um-o 'run-PST-3FSG')
mudelumo 'she hit her' (< *mu-del-um-o '3FSG-beat-PST-3FSG')
yalumo 'she broke it' (< *yal-um-o 'break-PST.3FSG')
dumoomo 'she came' (< *du-mo-um-o 'come-3FSG-PST-3FSG')
gaarcuma 'you ran' (< *gaarc-um-a 'run-PST-2SG')

32 Compare YB *nukirmin* 'having written'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

gumanuma 'you became' (< *gu-man-um-a '2SG-become-PST-2SG')
mudeluman 'they hit her' (< *mu-del-um-an '3FG-hit-PST-PL')
yaluma 'you broke it' (< *yal-uma 'break-PST-2SG')
duuman 'they came' (< *dV-u-∅-um-an 'd-prefix-3PL-come-PST-PL')[33]

b. No harmony triggered by a non-high vowel in the verb stem
numan 'having become' (< *nu-man 'PTCP-become')
nukaarc 'having run' (< *nu-gaarc 'PTCP-run')
nusen 'having said' (< *nu-sen 'PTCP-say')

c. No effect of harmony on a preceding non-high vowel
imanimi 'he became' (< *i-man-um-i '3MSG-become-PST-3MSG')
gaarcimi 'he ran' (< *gaarc-um-i 'run-PST-3MSG')
senimi 'he said' (< *sen 'say-PST-3MSG')

Thus, in (58) above, an underlying *u* changes to [i] when followed by *i* in the following syllable. Harmony is induced by a high front vowel in the suffix in (58-a), and by a high front vowel in the verb stem in (58-b). Forms in (59) reveal that vowel harmony is not triggered in other environments. That the underlying form in the inflectional suffix for 'PST-3MSG' is /-um-i/ is proved by forms containing a suffix for 'PST.3FSG' (*-umo*), 'PST.2SG' (*-uma*) or 'PST.PL' (*-uman*). A challenge to this analysis is posed by the suffix for 'PST.3MSG' (*-am*) which may have undergone other changes. More investigation is needed to address this apparent discrepancy.

As far as the evidence from SB is concerned, vowel harmony is not observed in nouns. Thus, we have examples such as *čuuni* 'wood', *tumičaŋ ~ tomičaŋ* 'trees' (< *tum-ičaŋ* 'tree-PL'), *umi* '(their) mother' (< *u-mi* '3PL-mother'), etc., where a high, back, round vowel *u* is followed by a high, front vowel *i*, but no harmony is triggered in such cases. Note that vowel harmony is blocked in cases where it could lead to lexical ambiguity. Thus, we have *ṣimi* 'he ate (X [–H, I]; Singular)' and *ṣimo* 'she ate (X; Singular)' (rather than (*)*ṣumo*; cf. *ṣuyam* 'I ate (X [–H, I]; Plural), *ṣumi* 'he ate (X; Plural)' and *ṣumo* 'she ate (X; Plural)' where *ṣu-* is the verb stem used when the object is plural. This kind of allomorphy of the verb stem based on the Number of the Object is restricted to a very small number of verbs.

There are some exceptions which provide for possible candidates for the change and yet no harmony is triggered. For example, *uiruman* (and not

33 The verb 'come' belongs to a special class of verbs called *d*-prefix verbs discussed in chapter 5.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

iiruman) '(they) died' (< /u-ir-uman/ '3PL-die-PST.PL'). These could probably be explained through restrictions which prohibit changes that would lead to lexical ambiguity. Nevertheless, despite the compelling evidence, further investigations are needed to get a better picture of this process.

2.4.6 *Voice Alternation in Consonants*

There is what is apparently another morphophonologically motivated operation in the language by which a morpheme- (or root-) initial consonant is devoiced (hardened) when prefixed by a morpheme ending in a vowel. The consonant undergoing devoicing is in the onset position of a stressed syllable. Consider the examples in (60) for illustration:

(60) Devoicing triggered by prefixation

a. [p] ~ [b] alternation
a-pí '(it) isn't' < *a-* 'Neg' + *bí* '(it) is'
a-páa 'I am not/you are not' < *a-* 'Neg' + *bá* 'I am/you are'
a-páan '(we/they) are not'< *a-* 'Neg' + *báan* '(we/they) are'

b. [p] ~ [v] alternation
a-párc 'left/wrong side'< *a-* 'Neg' + *várc* 'right side'

c. [k] ~ [g] alternation
nu-káarc 'having run' < *nu-* 'PTCP' + *gáarc-* 'run' (cf. *gaarcas* 'to run')
ni-kírmin 'having written'[34] < *nu-* 'PTCP' + *girmín-* 'write' (cf. *girminas* 'to write')

Thus, in (60) above, prefixation results in the devoicing of intervocalic *-b-, -v-*, and *-g-* in (a), (b), and (c) respectively.[35] This kind of change is not observed in certain environments. Thus, we have examples such as *ee-gi-* '3SG-sow' in *néegi* 'having sown (it)', *a-vál-* '1SG-fall-' in *aválimi* 'I fell' and *i-dél-* '3SG-beat-' in *idélimi* 'he beat him' or *idélumo* 'she beat him' (and not **néeki*, **apál-* or **itél-*) with an intervocalic consonant which is voiced. A similar trend is observed in nouns, such as, *iḍím* (</i-dim/) 'his body' (and not **iṭím*). It appears that the change is blocked by pronominal prefixes.

What appears to be an exception to the devoicing rule is a construction involving main verbs in SB not attested in the other dialects. Consider the examples in (61).

34 *nu-* ~ *ni-* variation is a result of vowel harmony.

35 That *v* becomes *p* and not *f* is probably because the language does not have fricative *f*.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(61) No consonantal hardening in some SB verbs
au díimi 'he did not come' (cf. HB *atíimi*)
au dáaya baa 'I did not come' (cf. HB *atáaya baa*)

The examples in (61) illustrate cases where the function word for negation is not prefixed to the following verb in SB (unlike other dialects, where it is) and therefore the phonological change of consonantal hardening is blocked in these particular cases (for more on this refer to Chapter 7: Dialectal Comparison).

An alternate explanation to voice alternation would be initial voicing (as opposed to medial devoicing). This, however, does not seem to be a plausible explanation because there are many cases showing voice constrast in initial position as illustrated by the data in (62):

(62) Data showing initial voice contrast in analogous environments

pari 'fairy'[36]	*bariŋ* 'talk (noun)'
tiṣ 'wind'	*diš* 'land'
tam 'swimming'	*dan* 'stone'
kareelu 'sheep'	*gar* 'marriage'

2.5 Conclusion

There are many similarities between the phonological typology of Burushaski and various regional languages. Barring some languages such as Kashmiri, which has a larger inventory of vowels, the vowel inventory of Burushaski resembles those of many of the neighboring languages. The consonant system of the language resembles those of the Indo-Aryan Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri, and Shina (and possibly some other contact languages) as far as stops, nasals, affricates, and glides are concerned. Aspirated voiced consonants are absent from all dialects of Burushaski. This is also true of the Dardic group of Indo-Aryan languages, the closest geographical neighbors of Burushaski, as well as Iranian languages situated further west. Despite these similarities, there are some noteworthy differences.

An interesting feature of the consonantal system of Burushaski is the presence of retroflex consonants, such as *ç, ç^h, ṣ*, and *ẓ*, also found in Dardic Khowar, Shina, Kohistani, and some other surrounding languages but absent from Urdu and Kashmiri. It is not clear whether these consonantal sounds are inherent to

36 Although *pari* 'fairy' is a loanword, there are many other instances where *p* occurs in word-initial position. Consider, *paċi* 'near', *paqo* '(type of) food', *pasoom* 'pity', etc.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Burushaski or whether they are a result of a historical contact-induced phenomenon. It should be noted that Dravidian languages, widely believed to have been spoken in the region before the arrival of the Aryans in the subcontinent, also possess retroflex sounds (though not retroflex affricates). The retroflex affricates found in the phonological inventories of some Dardic languages have been argued to be innovations. It has been claimed that these consonants have developed from Old Indo-Aryan clusters which were maintained and reinforced by areal influences (Tikkanen 1995). It could be tentatively argued that these languages might have acquired these sounds/features under Burushaski influence. Alternatively, it is also possible that Burushaski developed (at least some of) the retroflex sounds as a result of language contact.

The language also reveals some interesting phonotactic similarities as well as differences with the areal languages. For example, some of the very common consonant clusters found in SB and other dialects of Burushaski, such as final *-rk, -lt, -rc, -sk*, etc. (as in SB *urk* 'wolf', *baalt* 'apple', *varc* 'right (side)', *bask* 'more'),[37] are absent in many areal languages including modern Indo-Aryan (although Old Indo-Aryan does have some of these clusters), while others such as [nasal + stop/affricate] are common cross-linguistically (cf. Kashmiri *band* 'closed', *kaŋg* '(type of) firepot', *gaŋǰ* 'lunchbox', *paanc* 'five'). Initial clusters as attested in Burushaski are also found in some areal languages such as the Indo-Aryan Kashmiri (e.g., K. *tre* 'three', *drokʰ* 'vomit', *proon* 'old; MSG').

Some phonological processes typical of the region are: glide insertion (between two contiguous vowels) resulting in the breaking of certain vowel clusters, vowel harmony (apparently not very productive and restricted to cross-morphemic environments only as far as the current data are concerned), and various assimilatory processes. Insertion of semivowels between two contiguous vowels is a cross-linguistically common phenomenon. However, certain types of consonantal assimilation (such as uvularization) as observed in SB and also in other dialects of Burushaski are presumably language-internal, as these do not have exact parallels in the contact languages. Interestingly, the kind of vowel harmony observed in SB (and in other Burushaski dialects) is somewhat similar to that found in Kashmiri, where (rounding/raising) harmony is induced by a high vowel in the gender suffix (see Munshi 2001).

37 Note that *urk* resembles the Indo-European word for 'wolf' (cf. Sk. *vṛka-s*).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

CHAPTER 3

Morpho-Syntax

This chapter examines the various components of the SB clause (i.e., sentence) and their relations within the clause. The term "clause" or "sentence" is used in its conventional sense. Following Payne (1997), a "clause" (or "sentence") is defined as "the linguistic expression of a proposition; a proposition is a conceptual notion, whereas a clause is its formal morpho-syntactic instantiation" (see Payne 1997: 71). In the following sections, I will discuss topics such as constituent order typology, grammatical relations, and case, and clause combining in SB. Because of the difficulty of separating syntax from the categorial aspects of morphology the term "morpho-syntax" is used in the present study instead of the more conventional term "syntax". Forms of sentences are examined before the forms of words. Using a top-down view of morpho-syntax, I start with syntactic constituency, working down to the details.

3.1 Constituent Order Typology

A clause can have, at the most, three Noun Phrases (NPs), designated as "Ergative", "Absolutive", and "Oblique". All NPs precede the verb in an unmarked Burushaski clause, making it a verb-final language. A simplified account of the SB Phrase Structure in terms of the syntactic constituents within the clause is given in the form of the Phrase Structure Rules in (1):

(1) Phrase Structure Rules
Sentence = ([Ergative NP]) ([Oblique NP]) [Absolutive NP] [V]
[V] = V (AUX)
V = (Pronominal Prefix)-Verb Stem-(Agreement)
AUX = Auxiliary Verb-Agreement
[NP] = (Specifier) (Modifier/Adjective) [N]
[N] = (Pronominal Prefix)-Noun-Number-Case

In (1) above, "Ergative" represents the most Agent-like argument of a transitive clause, and "Absolutive" the only argument of an intransitive or the least agent-like (or most patient-like) argument of a transitive clause. An "Oblique" NP may be represented by a "Dative" argument or a Postpositional Phrase.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2019 | DOI:10.1163/9789004387898_004
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

A sentence contains at least one NP which precedes the inflected verb (except in the case of sentences involving *pro*-drop, which is a widespread cross-linguistic areal phenomenon in South Asia). The category designated as "[V]" is the inflected verb component, "V" is the main verb and "AUX" is the auxiliary verb. Formal details of NP arguments and verb agreement are provided in Section 3.2.

3.1.1 *Word Order in Main Clauses*

Basic constituent order in a clause is S-V in an intransitive and A-P-V in a transitive clause, where "S" is the only argument of an intransitive clause, "A" the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause, and "P" the other argument of a transitive clause.[1] Consider the data in (2) and (3) for illustration:

(2) Typology of an intransitive clause

a.	*hiles*	*iirimi*	(S-V)	(Baseline)
	hiles-∅	i-ir-imi		(Morphemic Analysis)
	boy-ABS	3MSG-die-PST.3MSG		(Lexical/Morphological gloss)
	'The boy died'			

b.	*ume*	*šugulu*	*dumoomo*	(S-V)
	um-e	šugulu-	dV-mo-umo	
	2SG-GEN	friend-ABS	come-3FSG-PST.3FSG	
	'Your (female) friend came'			

(3) Typology of a transitive clause

a.	*ine*	*biiro*	*ṣimi*	(A-P-V)
	in-e	biiro-∅	ṣi-umi	
	3SG-ERG	rooster-ABS	eat-PST.3MSG	
	'He ate the rooster/chicken'			

b.	*ine*	*biiro*	*ṣimo*	(A-P-V)
	in-e	biiro-∅	ṣi-umo	
	3SG-ERG	rooster-ABS	eat-PST.3FSG	
	'She ate the rooster/chicken'			

1 For more on this see Payne (1997: 75).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *ṭerizaa* *saliim* *idelumo* (A-P-V)
ṭerizaa-e saliim-∅ i-del-umo
Teresa-ERG Salim-ABS 3MSG-hit-PST.3FSG
'Teresa(F) hit Salim (M)'

d. *ṭerizaa* *filim* *barenumo* (A-P-V)
ṭerizaa-e filim-∅ baren-umo
Teresa-ERG film-ABS see-PST.3FSG
'Teresa(F) watched (a/the) movie/film'

In the case of three-argument clauses traditionally designated as "di-transitive", the unmarked word-order is: A-IO-DO-V (i.e., Ergative-Oblique-Absolutive-Verb). Consider the data in (4) for illustration:

(4) Word order in ditransitive clauses

a. *ume* *baalṭiilu* *cʰil* *tʰima*
um-e baalṭi-ulu cʰil-∅ tʰi-ma
2SG-ERG bucket-in water-ABS pour-PST.2SG
'You poured water into the bucket'

b. *muštaaqe* *šiiṭe* *dustak* *oosimi*
muštaaq-e ši-e-ṭe dustak-∅ oos-imi
Mushtaq-ERG stove-GEN-on pot-ABS put-PST.3MSG
'Mushtaq put the pot on the stove'

c. *maaǰide* *meezeṭe* *meeva* *oosimi*
maaǰid-e meez-e-ṭe meeva-∅ oos-imi
Majid-ERG table-GEN-on fruit(s)-ABS put-PST.3MSG
'Majid put the fruit(s) on the table'

Various other word-order configurations are permissible based on the change in Focus, which occupies the pre-verbal position in a clause. Thus, word order changes lead to subtle differences in meaning.[2] Consider the data in (5) and (6) for illustration:

2 Although possible in marked sentences in natural speech, non-verb-final constructions are very rare in SB.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(5) Focus and word order changes in monotransitive clauses

i. Sentence I: 'He ate the rooster'

a. *ine* *biiro* *ṣimi* (A-P-V)
in-e biiro-∅ ṣi-imi
3SG-ERG rooster-ABS eat-PST.3MSG
'He ate the rooster' (with 'rooster' as Focus)
Or, 'It was the rooster that he ate'

b. *biiro* *ine* *ṣimi* (P-A-V)
biiro-∅ in-e ṣi-imi
rooster-ABS 3SG-ERG eat-PST.3MSG
'He ate the rooster' (with 'he' as Focus)
Or, 'It was he who ate the rooster'

ii. Sentence II: 'Teresa hit Salim'

a. *ṭerizaa* *saliim* *idelumo* (A-P-V)
ṭerizaa-e saliim-∅ i-del-umo
Teresa-ERG Salim-ABS 3MSG-hit-PST.3FSG
'Teresa(F) hit Salim(M)' (with 'Salim' as Focus)
Or, 'It was Salim whom Teresa hit'

b. *saliim* *ṭerizaa* *idelumo* (P-A-V)
saliim-∅ ṭerizaa-e i-del-umo
Salim-ABS Teresa-ERG 3MSG-hit-PST.3FSG
'Teresa(F) hit Salim(M)' (with 'Teresa' as Focus)
Or, 'It was Teresa who hit Salim'

(6) Focus and word order changes in ditransitive clauses

i. Sentence I: 'You poured water into the bucket'

a. *ume* *baalṭiilu* *cʰil* *tʰima* (A-IO-DO-V)
um-e baalṭi-ulu cʰil-∅ tʰi-ma
2SG-ERG bucket-in water-ABS pour-PST.2SG
'You poured water into the bucket' (with 'water' as Focus)
Or, 'It was water that you poured into the bucket'

b. *ume* *cʰil* *baalṭiilu* *tʰima* (A-DO-IO-V)
um-e cʰil-∅ baalṭi-ulu tʰi-ma
2SG-ERG water-ABS bucket-in pour-PST.2SG
'You poured water into the bucket' (with 'bucket' as Focus)
Or, 'It was the bucket that you poured water into'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *baalṭiilu* *cʰil* *ume* *tʰima* (IO-DO-A-V)
baalṭi-ulu cʰil-∅ um-e tʰi-ma
bucket-in water-ABS 2SG-ERG pour-PST.2SG
'You poured water into the bucket' (with 'you' as Focus)
Or, 'It was you who poured water into the bucket'

ii. Sentence II: 'Mushtaq put the pot on the stove'

a. *muštaaqe* *šiiṭe* *dustak*
muštaaq-e ši-e-ṭe dustak-∅
Mushtaq-ERG stove-GEN-on pot-ABS
oosimi (A-IO-DO-V)
oos-imi
put-PST.3MSG
'Mushtaq put the pot on the stove'[3] (with 'pot' as Focus)
Or, 'It was the pot that Mushtaq put on the stove'

b. *muštaaqe* *dustak* *šiiṭe*
muštaaq-e dustak-∅ ši-e-ṭe
Mushtaq-ERG pot-ABS stove-GEN-on
oosimi (A-DO-IO-V)
oos-imi
put-PST.3MSG
'Mushtaq put the pot on the stove' (with 'stove' as Focus)
Or, 'It was on the stove that Mushtaq put the pot'

c. *šiiṭe* *dustak* *muštaaqe*
ši-e-ṭe dustak-∅ muštaaq-e
stove-GEN-on pot-ABS Mushtaq-ERG
oosimi (IO-DO-A-V)
oos-imi
put-PST.3MSG
'Mushtaq put the pot on the stove' (with 'Mushtaq' as Focus)
Or, 'It was Mushtaq who put the pot on the stove'

3 An echo question for this statement will be: 'Mushtaq put what on the stove?'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

iii. Sentence III: 'Majid put the fruits on the table'

a. *maaǰide* *meezeṭe* *meeva*
maaǰid-e meez-eṭe meeva-∅
Majid-ERG table-GEN-on fruit(s)-ABS
oosimi (A-IO-DO-V)
oos-imi
put-PST.3MSG
'Majid put the fruit(s) on the table' (with 'fruit(s)' as Focus)
Or, 'It was the fruit(s) that Majid put on the table'

b. *maaǰide* *meeva* *meezeṭe*
maaǰid-e meeva-∅ meez-e-ṭe
Majid-ERG fruit(s)-ABS table-GEN-on
oosimi (A-DO-IO-V)
oos-imi
put-PST.3MSG
'Majid put the fruits on the table' (with 'table' as Focus)
Or, 'It was on the table that Majid put the fruit'

c. *meezeṭe* *meeva* *maaǰide*
meez-e-ṭe meeva-∅ maaǰid-e
table-GEN-on fruit(s)-ABS Majid-ERG
oosimi (IO-DO-A-V)
oos-imi
put-PST.3MSG
'Majid put the fruits on the table' (with 'Majid' as Focus)
Or, 'It was Majid who put the fruits on the table'

Thus, when the Focus (or "emphasis", in a native speaker's terms) is on the Absolutive NP *cʰil* 'water', *dustak* 'pot, or *meeva* 'fruit', the latter occurs immediately before the verb (and after the Oblique NP *baalṭi* 'bucket', *ši* 'stove', or *meez* 'table', respectively; See examples (6)-i-a, (6)-ii-a, and (6)-iii-a above). Accordingly, in answer to a question such as: 'What did Mushtaq keep/put on the table?', the word order in (6)-iii-a is preferred; and, in answer to a question such as 'Where did Mushtaq put the fruits?', the word-order in (6)-iii-b is preferred. When Focus is on the Oblique NP, the latter appears immediately before the Verb (i.e., (6)-i-b, (6)-ii-b, and (6)-iii-b above). Similarly, when the Focus is on an Ergative, the latter appears immediately before the Verb

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(i.e., (6)-i-c, (6)-ii-c, and (6)-iii-c above where the word order is [Oblique-Absolutive-Ergative-Verb] and not [Ergative-Oblique-Absolutive-Verb], which is the unmarked word-order). This is also true of sentences containing adverbial phrases. Consider the example in (7):

(7) Focus on the adverbial phrase:

a. *ume* *kʰot* *cʰil* *bene*
um-e kʰot-∅ cʰil bene
2SG-ERG this.[–H, II]-ABS water how
dusuma? (Question)
dusuma
bring.[–H, II].PST.2SG
'How did you bring this water?'

ǰaa *kʰot* *baalṭiilu*
ǰa-a kʰot-∅ baalṭi-ulu
1SG-ERG this.[–H, II]-ABS bucket-in
dusum (Answer)
dusum
bring.[–H, II].PST.1SG
'I brought this water in (the) bucket'

b. *ume* *kʰos* *baalt* *bene*
um-e kʰos-∅ baalt-∅ bene
2SG-ERG this.[–H, I]-ABS apple-ABS how
dicuma? (Question)
dicuma
bring.[–H, I].PST.2SG
'How did you bring this apple?'

kʰos *baalt* *ǰaa* *ṭookriilu*
kʰos-∅ baalt-∅ ǰa-a ṭookri-ulu
this.[–H, I]-ABS apple-ABS 1SG-ERG basket-in
dicum (Answer)
dicum
bring.[–H, I].PST.1SG
'I brought this apple in (the) basket'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Besides the pre-verbal position, Focus is also expressed by means of clausal stress. Thus, irrespective of the word-order, the NP which bears clausal stress is the Focus in marked constructions.

3.1.2 *Typology of the Verb Component*

The inflected verb component (designated as "[V]" in (1) above) always occurs in sentence-final position in unmarked utterances. It carries the inflectional information for Person, Number and Gender features of the NP argument(s) (i.e., Subject and/or Object). It also carries the information for Tense. The information for Aspect features is incorporated in the verb "stem". Each verb in Burushaski has two different stems – basic/underived, and derived. The underived or unmarked verb stem, which does not contain any suffixes, is used for Perfective Aspect. The derived verb stem carries a morpheme for Imperfective Aspect – a suffix which generally surfaces as some kind of a palatal consonant (for more on the morphology of the verb, see Chapter 5). The structure of the inflected verb component is given in Figure 1 (note that the hyphen represents the morpheme boundary and parentheses represent optionality):

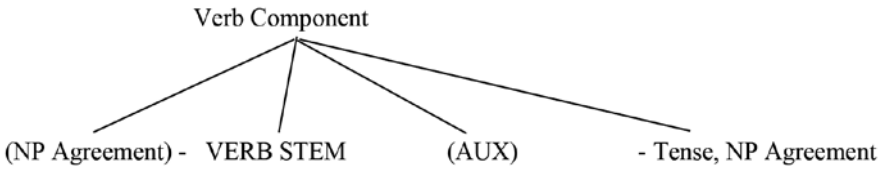


FIGURE 1 Structure of the verb component

In the case of simple verbs, the inflected verb consists of a verb stem, which contains a verb root and Aspect information (unmarked in case of Perfective Aspect), and a suffix bearing information on Tense and nominal agreement for Ergative or Absolutive (Subject). The inflected verb may also possess a pronominal prefix preceding the verb stem, which agrees with an (Absolutive/Dative) NP argument (see Section 3.2 for more on this).[4] Consider the examples in (8) and (9) for verbs 'sit/stay' and 'die', respectively, for illustration:

4 The presence/absence of the pronominal prefix is determined by the grammatical role of the NP and the semantic content of the verb.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(8) Verbs without pronominal prefix: Morphosyntax of the intransitive verb *huruṭ-* 'sit'

a. *in* *huruṭumo*
in-∅ huruṭ-umo
3SG-ABS sit-PST.3FSG
'She sat/stayed'

b. *u* *huruṭuman*
u-∅ huruṭ-uman
3PL-ABS sit-PST.PL
'They sat/stayed'

c. *ǰa* *hurušam*
ǰa-∅ huruš-am
1SG-ABS sit.IPFV-1SG
'I will sit/stay'

(9) Verbs with pronominal prefixes: Morphosyntax of an intransitive verb *-ir-* 'die'

a. *in* *hilas* *iirimi*
in hilas-∅ i-ir-imi
3SG boy-ABS 3MSG-die-PST.3MSG
'That/the boy died'

b. *altan* *hilešu* *uiruman*
altan hiles-šu-∅ u-ir-uman
two boy-PL-ABS 3PL-die-PST.PL
'Two boys died'

Notice the inflected verb *-ir-* 'die' in (9) above possesses a pronominal prefix agreeing with the Absolutive NP, whereas in the case of *huruṭ-* 'sit' in (8),[5] there is no pronominal prefix. We will see later why this is so.

In case of complex verbs (i.e., verb plus auxiliary), the Aspect information is contained within the verb stem (i.e., verb root + Aspect) while the auxiliary verb (AUX), which follows the main verb, is inflected for Tense and nominal agreement (see section 3.2 for more on this). The main verb forms a syntactic component with the auxiliary verb, and no syntactic material can occur

5 While *huruṭ-* is the underived stem for 'sit', *huruš-* is its derived stem which contains the morpheme for Imperfective Aspect.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

between the two. Consider the data in (10) illustrating the morphosyntax of a complex verb containing a derived verb stem *gaaršu* 'run. IPFV' (as opposed to *gaarc-*, the underived and unmarked verb stem which is used for the Perfective Aspect) and an auxiliary verb 'be' (note: ungrammaticality is designated by an asterisk "*"):[6]

(10) Morphosyntax of an intransitive complex verb

a. *in* *gunc* *gaaršu* *bai*
in-∅ gunc gaaršu bai
3SG-ABS daily run.IPFV be.PRES.3MSG
'He runs daily'
Schematic representation: [$_{\text{Sentence}}$ [$_{\text{ABS}}$ in] ([$_{\text{ADV}}$ gunc]) [$_{\text{V}}$ [$_{\text{MV}}$ gaaršu] [$_{\text{AUX}}$ bai]]]

a'. **in* *gaaršu* *gunc* *bai*
Schematic representation: [$_{\text{Sentence}}$ [$_{\text{ABS}}$ in] [$_{\text{MV}}$ gaaršu] [$_{\text{ADV}}$ gunc] [$_{\text{AUX}}$ bai]]

b. *in* *gunc* *gaaršu* *bo*
in-∅ gunc gaaršu bo
3SG-ABS daily run.IPFV be.PRES.3FSG
'She runs daily'
Schematic representation: [$_{\text{Sentence}}$ [$_{\text{ABS}}$ in] ([$_{\text{ADV}}$ gunc]) [$_{\text{V}}$ [$_{\text{MV}}$ gaaršu] [$_{\text{AUX}}$ bo]]]

b'. **in* *gaaršu* *gunc* *bo*
Schematic representation: [$_{\text{Sentence}}$ [$_{\text{ABS}}$ in] [$_{\text{MV}}$ gaaršu] [$_{\text{ADV}}$ gunc] [$_{\text{AUX}}$ bo]]

In the case of a predicate nominal clause (i.e., a clause where the semantic content of the predication is expressed by a noun; see Payne 1997: 111), the verbal component (e.g., the verb 'be') follows the predicate nominal. Consider the examples in (11) for illustration:

6 Compare the morphosyntax of the (underived) verb *gaarc-* 'run' in its simple form:
in *gaarcumo / gaarcimi*
in-∅ gaarc-umo / gaarc-umi
3SG-ABS run-PST.3FSG / run-PST.3MSG
'She/He ran'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(11) Morphosyntax of predicate nominal clauses

a. *in* (*hin*) *ooɣatanasan* *bai*
in-∅ (hin) ooɣatanas-an bai
3SG-ABS (one) teacher-SG.NDEF be.PRES.3MSG
'He is (a) teacher'
Schematic representation: [Sentence [ABS in] [Predicate [Pred.Nom. (hin) ooɣatanas-an] [Verb bai]]

b. *in* (*hin*) *ooɣatanasan* *bo*
in-∅ (hin) ooɣatanas-an bo
3SG-ABS (one) teacher-SG.NDEF be.PRES.3FSG
'She is (a) teacher'
Schematic representation: [Sentence [ABS in] [Predicate [Pred.Nom. (hin) ooɣatanas-an] [Verb bo]]]

c. *ǰa* (*hin*) *dasinan* *ba*
ǰa-∅ (hin) dasin-an ba
1SG-ABS (one) girl-SG.NDEF be.PRES.1SG
'I am a girl'
Schematic representation: [Sentence [ABS ǰa] [Predicate [Pred.Nom. (hin) dasin-an] [Verb ba]]]

d. *u* *šua* *sisik* *baan*
u-∅ šua sis-ik baan
3PL-ABS (one) person-PL.NDEF be.PRES.PL
'They are good people'
Schematic representation: [Sentence [ABS u] [Predicate [Pred.Nom. šua sis-ik] [Verb baan]]]

In the case of sentences with transitive verbs, the inflected verb component consists of a verb stem (including Aspect information), and a suffix bearing agreement features for the Ergative argument and Tense features. The verb stem may also possess a pronominal prefix agreeing with an Object NP which can be Dative or Absolutive (see Section 3.2 for details). Consider the examples in (12) and (13) for illustration:

(12) Morphosyntax of transitive verb 'to eat (X)'

a. *ǰaa* *ṣapik* *šeyam*
ǰa-e ṣapik-∅ še-am
1SG-ERG food-ABS eat-PST.1SG
'I ate food'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *mii* *ṣapik* *šeman*
mi-e ṣapik-∅ še-uman
1PL-ERG food-ABS eat-PST.PL
'We ate food'

Schematic representation: [$_{\text{Sentence}}$ [$_{\text{ERG}}$ NP] [$_{\text{ABS}}$ NP] [$_{\text{Verb}}$ eat-Suffix$_{\text{ERG}}$]]

(13) Morphosyntax of transitive verb 'to kill (X)'

a. *ɣayine* *in* *sis* *esqanimi*
ɣayin-e in sis-∅ e-sqan-umi
thief-ERG that person-ABS 3MSG$_{\text{ABS}}$-kill-PST.3MSG$_{\text{ERG}}$
'The thief killed that person'

b. *ɣayine* *in* *sis* *mosqanimi*
ɣayin-e in sis-∅ mo-sqan-umi
thief-ERG that person-ABS 3FSG$_{\text{ABS}}$-kill-PST.3MSG$_{\text{ERG}}$
'The thief killed that girl'

Schematic representation: [$_{\text{Sentence}}$ [$_{\text{ERG}}$ NP] [$_{\text{ABS}}$ NP] [$_{\text{Verb}}$ Prefix$_{\text{ABS}}$-kill – Suffix $_{\text{ERG}}$]]

The presence or absence of the pronominal prefix is determined by the semantic content of the verb and the feature [+/–Animate] of the NP (see section 3.2). Pronominal prefixes are also present in causative verb forms. Besides these, the negative function word is also cliticized as a prefix *a-* in many verb forms (see Chapter 5 for a detailed account of the verb morphology).[7]

3.1.3 *Noun Phrase*

A Noun Phrase is composed of: an (optional) Specifier, one or more (optional) Modifiers, and a head Noun. The "Specifier/Determiner" position, which can be occupied by numerals/quantifiers/demonstrative pronouns, is the leftmost component of the NP. The immediate constituents of the Noun Phrase are represented in Figure 2:

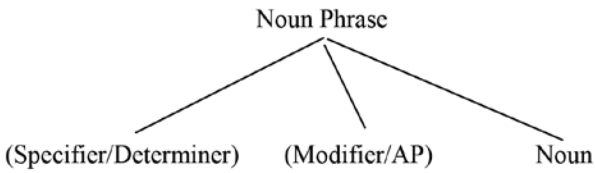


FIGURE 2 Structure of the noun phrase

7 Note that the term "prefix" is loosely used here for what is really a proclitic.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

The "Specifier/Determiner" position can be (optionally) occupied by a Demonstrative Pronoun, Possessor Pronoun, Relative Pronoun, Quantifier, etc. The "Modifier" (or Adjectival Phrase "AP") position may be occupied by one or more modifiers, as is true of many natural languages. Some examples to illustrate the SB Noun Phrase are given in (14) and (15):

(14) Noun Phrase: (Specifier/Determiner) + Noun

a. *dasin/hiles* (No specifier/determiner)
girl/boy
'(the) girl/boy'

b. *kʰin* *dasin* (Demonstrative as determiner)
this girl
'this girl'

c. *amin* *hilas …* (Relative pronoun as determiner)
Rel.Pron boy
'the boy who …'

d. *uyoon* *dasiyanc* (Quantifier as determiner)
all girl.PL
'all girls'

e. *buṭ* *hukayo* (Quantifier as determiner)
many dog.PL
'many dogs'

(15) Noun Phrase: AP + Noun

a. *matum* *buš*
black cat
'(the) black cat'

b. *uyum* *nana*
older/big uncle
'(the) elder/older uncle'

c. *šua* *burušo* *hilas-an*
good Burusho boy-SG.NDEF
'a good Burusho boy'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Within the Adjectival Phrase, one or more adjectives may be preceded by an optional Specifier. Consider the examples in (16):

(16) Noun Phrase: (Specifier/Determiner) + Adjective(s)/Modifier(s) + Noun

a. (*hin*) *šua* *hilas-an*
one.[+H] good boy-SG.NDEF
'a good boy'

b. (*hin*) *buṭ* *šua* *hilas-an*
one.[+H] very good boy-SG.NDEF
'a very good boy'

c. (*hin*) *buṭ* *šua* *burušo* *hilas-an*
one.[+H] very good Burusho boy-SG.NDEF
'a very good Burusho boy'

In the case of NPs, Case marker or Indefinite Article (if any) follows the noun. The head of the NP, "Noun", is composed of the following components:

Noun = (Pronominal Prefix) – Noun Stem – Number – Case (or Indefinite Article)

This is schematically represented in Figure 3:

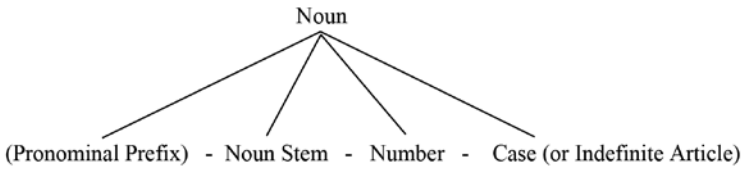


FIGURE 3 Structure of the noun

The Pronominal Prefix is present in the case of inherently possessed nouns (discussed at length in Chapter 4). Consider nouns such as *-ik* 'name' and *-soyočі* 'pocket' in (17) and (18) for illustration:

(17) Morphosyntax of the noun 'name'

a. (*ǰaa*) *ayik*[8]
(ǰa-e) a-ik
(1SG-GEN) 1SG-name
'(my) name'

8 Compare HB *eyik* '(my) name'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. (*ume*) *gʊyik*
(um-e) gu-ik
(2SG-GEN) 2SG-name
'(your) name'

(18) Morphosyntax of the noun 'pocket'
a. (*ǰaa*) *asoɣoči*
(ǰa-e) a-soɣoči
(1SG-GEN) 1SG-pocket
'my pocket'

b. (*ine*) *isoɣoči*
(in-e) i-soɣoči
(3SG-GEN) 3MSG-pocket
'his pocket'

Note that the possessor pronouns (i.e., *ǰaa* 'my', *ume* 'your', *ine* 'his') preceding the (inherently possessed) nouns in (17) and (18) above are optional.

The "Case" position (in Fig. 3) is occupied by the grammatical Case which may or may not be overtly realized, depending on the grammatical relations of the NPs within the clause. Consider the examples in (19):

(19) Case syntax
a. *kʰin* *dasin*
kʰin dasin-∅
this.[+H] girl-ABS
'this girl (P)'

b. *dasine*
dasin-e
girl-ERG
'(the) girl (A)'

c. *dasinmore*
dasin-mo-re
girl-GEN.FSG-DAT
'to the girl (P)'

When the NP is not specified, a suffix for Indefinite Article may be attached to the noun stem. This is *-an* 'a/any' for singular and *-ik* 'some/any' for plural

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

nouns. Note that both specific and non-specific indefinites are encoded with suffixes. Consider the examples in (20):

(20) Indefinite Article

a. *dasinan*
dasin-an
girl-SG.NDEF
'a/some girl'

b. *hilasan*
hilas-an
boy-SG.NDEF
'a/some boy'

c. *menik*
men-ik
someone-PL.NDEF
'anyone/any person'

d. *gaṭoŋik*
gaṭu-ŋ-ik
dress-PL-PL.NDEF
'(any/some) dresses'

This kind of an overt Indefinite Article which appears on the noun in the form of a suffix is also reported in Kashmiri, which possesses an indefiniteness-marking morpheme *-ah* meaning 'a/any' (possibly a relic form for Indefinite Singular suffixed to the noun stem; cf. K. *baag-ah* 'garden-NDEF' = 'a/some garden', *kuur-ah* 'girl-NDEF' = 'a/some girl', etc.).[9]

9 Typically, South Asian languages do not possess a true article. Definiteness is generally expressed by the use of a demonstrative pronoun (such as, 'this', 'that', etc.) while indefiniteness can be expressed by words for 'one' in the case of singular and 'some' in the case of plural nouns. However, Kashmiri seems to be an exception. Consider the following examples for illustration:

a. mye vuč^{h} laḍk-ah (ak^{h})
1SG.ERG see.PST.3MSG boy-SG.NDEF one
'I saw a boy'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

3.1.4 *Postpositional Phrase*

Like most of the areal languages, Burushaski has postpositions. Based on their structure, Postpositional Phrases (PPs) fall into two types: those where a postposition assigns a Genitive Case to the NP, and those in which an NP is unmarked for case. Some of the common postpositions attested in SB are: *kaaṭe~kaa* 'by/with', *piči* 'at/near', *gane ~ gene* 'for', *-ṭe ~ eṭe ~ yeṭe/yaṭe* 'on/above', *yaare* 'under', *yekal* 'towards', *cum ~ mucum* '(away) from/since' (Time/Space), *mo* 'during/in' (Time/Duration), *ulu* 'in' (Space/Location), *ulum* '(away) from' (Location), *dal* 'out of' (Location), *i-ŋi* 'in front' (Location), etc. Consider the data from SB in (21) and (22) illustrating the structure of the two types of PPs (note: the PPs under consideration are in square brackets "[ ]"):

(21) PPs containing an NP in Genitive form

a. *guc^{h}aras*	[$_{PP}$ *ǰiye*	*gane*]	*šua*	*dila*
guc^{h}ar-as	[$_{PP}$ ǰi-e	gane]	šua	dila
walk-INF	[$_{PP}$ life-GEN	for]	good	be.PRES.[−H, II]
'Walking is good for (one's) health'				

b. *ǰa*	[*sukuule*	*yekal*]	*niču*	*ba*
ǰa-∅	[sukuul-e	yekal]	niču	ba
1Sg-ABS	[school-GEN	towards]	go.IPFV	be. PRES.1SG
'I am going towards the school'				

c. [$_{PP}$ *tiṣe*	*kaa*]	*hiŋ*	*diši*	*nimi*
[$_{PP}$ tiṣ-e	kaa]	hiŋ-∅	diši	ni-umi
[$_{PP}$ wind-GEN	with]	door-ABS	open	go-PST.3SG.[−H, I]
'The door opened by/due to the wind' (Instrument/Force)				

d. *hiles*	[$_{PP}$ *dasin-mo*	*kaa*]	*nimi*
hiles-∅	[$_{PP}$ dasin-mo	kaa]	ni-umi
boy-ABS	[$_{PP}$ girl-GEN.FSG	with]	go-PST.3SG.[−H, I]
'The boy went with the girl'			

---

b. kitaab-ah$_{i}$ maa č^{h}e$_{i}$-y ce
book-SG.NDEF NEG be.PRES.FSG-2SG you.SG.DAT
'Do you have a book?

This construction, however, is marked, found only in the singular, and is possibly a remnant of an older structure which is no longer productive in the language.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

e. *ǰaa* [$_{PP}$ *ç^{h}ure* *kaa*] *baalt* *čuruk* *etam*
ǰa-e [$_{PP}$ ç^{h}ur-e kaa] baalt-∅ čuruk et-am
1SG-ERG [$_{PP}$ knife-GEN with] apple-ABS cut do-PST.1SG
'I cut the apple with the knife' (Instrument/Force)

f. *mi* [$_{PP}$ *šuguluvane* *kaa*] *bazaar*[10] *niman*
mi-∅ [$_{PP}$ šugulu-an-e kaa] bazaar ni-uman
1PL-ABS [$_{PP}$ friend-SG.NDEF-GEN with] market go-PST.PL
'We went to the market with a friend'

g. *maaǰide* [$_{PP}$ *meezeṭe*] *meeva* *oosimi*
maaǰid-e [$_{PP}$ meez-e -ṭe] meeva oos-umi
Majid-ERG [$_{PP}$ table-GEN on] fruit keep-PST.3MSG
'Majid put the fruit on the table'

h. *ine* [*inmo* *piči*] *hurušu* *bai*
ine-∅[11] [in-mo piči] hurušu bai
3SG-ABS [3SG-F.GEN near] sit.IPFV be.PRES.MSG
'He stays/lives near her'

i. *mii* *harkon* [$_{PP}$ *miyaarki* *yaare*] *deeluman*
mi-e harkon-∅ [$_{PP}$ mi-aarki-∅ yaare] deel-uman
1PL-ERG ornaments-ABS [$_{PP}$ 1PL-bed-GEN under] hide-PST.PL
'We hid the ornaments under the bed'

j. [$_{PP}$ *yuuṭise* *yaare*] *bi*
[$_{PP}$ i-uṭis-e yaare] bi
3MSG-foot-GEN under be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
'(It) is under his foot'

(22) PPs containing an unmarked NP
a. *ǰaa* *in* [$_{PP}$ *sabuur* *mucum*] *au* *yeecam*
ǰa-e in-∅ [$_{PP}$ sabuur mucum] au i-yeec-am
1SG-ERG 3SG-ABS [$_{PP}$ yesterday since] NEG 3MSG-see-PST.1SG
'I have not seen him since yesterday'

10 Note that no case-marker or postposition appears on the destination NP.

11 Note that there is some speaker-to-speaker variation in the use of *ine~in* '3.SG', *ume~um* '2.SG' in the Absolutive forms. More on this in Chapter 8 on dialectal variation.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. [$_{PP}$ *ekce* *bariŋ* *cum*] *ikʰare* *beexabar*
[$_{PP}$ ecke bar-iŋ cum] *ikʰare* beexabar
[$_{PP}$ 3PL.[–H, II] talk-PL from] 3MSG-self-GEN unaware
huruṭas *šua* *api*
huruṭ-as šua a-pi
stay-INF good NEG-be.PRES.3SG.[–H]
'(For one) to be unaware of such words/things is not good'

c. [$_{PP}$ *in* *cum*] *dayalum* *bar* *dila*
[$_{PP}$ in-∅ cum] d-a-yal-um bar dila
[$_{PP}$ 3PL-ABS from] *d*-1SG-hear-NMLZ talk (n.) be. PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'It is a story I have heard from him'

d. *u* [$_{PP}$ *sukuul* *ulum*] (*pʰarne*) *duuman*
u-∅ [$_{PP}$ sukuul ulum] (pʰarne) du-uman
3PL-ABS [$_{PP}$ school from] (back) come.3PL -PST.PL
'They came (back) from school'

e. *uu* *in* [$_{PP}$ *ɣulk* *ulum*] *divusuman*
u-e in-∅ [$_{PP}$ ɣulk ul-um] divus-uman
3PL-ERG 3SG-ABS [$_{PP}$ well inside-from] take.out.3SG-PST.PL
'They took him out of the well'

f. [$_{PP}$ *bai* *mo*] [$_{PP}$ *draas* *ulu*] *buṭ* *čʰaɣurum*
[$_{PP}$ bai mo] [$_{PP}$ draas ulu] buṭ čʰaɣurum
[$_{PP}$ winter during] [$_{PP}$ Dras in] very cold
may *bi*
may bi
exist.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
'During/In winter, (it) is very cold in Dras.'

g. *ine* *xurcxamaš* [$_{PP}$ *dari* *dal*] *lip* *etumo*
in-e xurc-xamaš-∅ [$_{PP}$ dari dal] lip et-umo
3SG-ERG dust-garbage-ABS [$_{PP}$ window out.of] throw do-PST.3FSG
'She threw the garbage through/out the window.'

Note that some postpositions, such as *yaare* 'under' and *yeṭe* (~*ṭe*) 'on/above', may have variant forms with pronominal prefixes marking possession when they occur with animate nouns. Thus, we have *ayaare* 'under me' (< a-yaare

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

'1SG-under'), *guyaare* 'under you (Singular)' (< gu-yaare '2SG-under'), *ayaṭe* 'on me' (< *a-eṭe* '1SG-on'), *muyeṭe* 'on her' (< mu-eṭe '3FSG-on'), *miyeṭe* 'on us' (< mi-eṭe '1PL-on'), *iyeṭe* 'on it' (< i-eṭe '3SG-on'), and so on (see Section 3.2.2 for more on PPS).

3.2 Grammatical Relations, Case, and Agreement

Grammatical relations in SB are interrelated with the semantic content of the verb and the feature [+/–Animate] of the NP arguments. Agreement patterns differ across different verb types, and are also affected by the class features of the NP arguments. In order to understand the grammatical relations, case assignment, and agreement patterns, it is important to know the distinctions among the various verb classes.

3.2.1 *Verb Classes and Agreement Patterns*

Based on their semantic content and argument structure, verbs fall into various groups. This has implications for the agreement patterns observed in the language. Verbs can be classified into, at least, the following five groups:

Group I:
This group includes intransitive verbs which involve some kind of volition and require a single argument (designated as "Absolutive" in this study). Absolutive is the unmarked or ∅-case (null case). Some of the verbs falling in this category are listed in (23):

(23) Verbs of Group I

huruṭ-	'sit'
ni-	'go'
guc^{h}ar-	'walk'
gaarc-	'run'
girat-	'dance/play'
guč^{h}e-	'sleep'

Group II:
Intransitive verbs which do not involve volition and require a single Absolutive argument. These verbs may possess a pronominal prefix agreeing with the NP. Some of the verbs falling in this category are listed in (24):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(24) Verbs of Group II

-man-	'exist/become'
-val-	'fall'
-ir-	'die'

Group III:
Verbs that require one Experiencer argument (designated as "Dative") and one Absolutive argument. In this category are intransitive verbs which require a predicate nominal, as well as some transitive verbs which require a clausal complement or an Absolutive NP. Verbs in this group are of the form "(X) *dil*" ('be –H, II]'), "X *man-*" ('have (X)'), "X *ɣan-*" ('feel X'), etc. Some of the verbs in this category are listed in (25):

(25) Verbs of Group III

šua ɣan-	'like (X); (lit.) feel good'
šuriyaar dil-	'be happy; (lit.) have happiness'
-saṭ dil-	'remember; (lit.) have memory'
leel dil-/man-	'know; (lit.) have knowledge'
xayaal dil-	'think; (lit.) have imagination'

Group IV:
Transitive verbs that require one Agent-like argument designated as "Ergative" and one Patient/Theme-like "Absolutive" argument. Verbs in this category may take a pronominal prefix agreeing with the Absolutive argument. Some verbs in this group are listed in (26):

(26) Verbs of Group IV

-yeec-	'see'
-del-	'hit'
ṣi-	'eat'
sen-	'say'
baren-	'look at/watch'
mina-	'drink'
girmin-	'write'
baalt-[12]	'wash'

12 Compare variants such as HB *baalt-*/*-balt-*and NB *baalt-*.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Group V:
Ditransitive verbs with three arguments which require one Agent-like Ergative argument, one Patient-like Absolutive argument, and one Recipient/Beneficiary/Goal argument which is designated as "Dative" when [+Animate] or "Oblique" when [–Animate]. Verbs in this category may take a pronominal prefix agreeing with the Dative/Absolutive argument. Some of the verbs in this category are listed in (27):

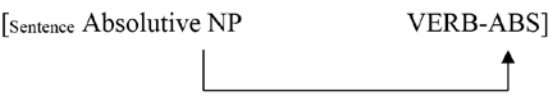
(27) Verbs of Group V

-u(y)-	'give'
-cʰu-	'take/bring'
oos-	'put/keep'

Based on the grammatical relations of arguments, verb class, and [+/–Animacy] feature of the NP argument(s), at least five different agreement patterns are observed which are described as follows:

Pattern I:
This involves intransitive verbs of Group I. The verb carries an agreement suffix for the Absolutive NP. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (28). Note that the VERB component may be composed of a simple verb or a complex verb, i.e., main verb + auxiliary verb, in that order.[13]

(28) Agreement Pattern I with Group I verbs: Only suffix agreement with Absolutive NP



As noted earlier, these are intransitive verbs which involve some kind of volition and require a single Absolutive argument. Consider the examples in (29) for illustration:

13 In the discussions that follow, the term "VERB" is broadly used to refer to simple verbs as well as complex verbs.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(29) Pattern I with verbs of Group I: Absolutive agreement, only one overt argument

a. *ǰa* *huruṭam*
ǰa-∅ huruṭ-am
1SG-ABS sit/stay-PST.1SG$_{ABS}$
'I sat/stayed'

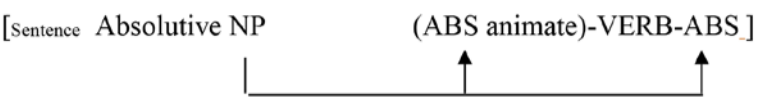
b. *ume* *šugulu* *nimi*
um-e šugulu-∅ ni-umi
2SG-GEN friend-ABS go-PST.3MSG$_{ABS}$
'Your (male) friend went/left'

c. *ume* *šugulu* *gaarcimi*
um-e šugulu-∅ gaarc-umi
2SG-GEN friend-ABS run-PST.3MSG$_{ABS}$
'Your (male) friend ran'

d. *u* *guc^{h}aruman*
u-∅ guc^{h}ar-uman
3PL-ABS walk-PST.PL$_{ABS}$
'They walked/went away'

Pattern II:
This pattern involves intransitive verbs of Group II (i.e., verbs which do not involve volition). The verb carries an agreement suffix for the Absolutive NP and also a (pronominal) agreement prefix when the NP is [+Animate]; the agreement prefix is absent when the NP is [–Animate]. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (30) as follows:

(30) Pattern II with intransitive verbs of Group II: Suffix and (animate) prefix agreement with Absolutive NP



Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Consider the examples in (31) for illustration:

(31) Pattern II: Group II verbs with agreement prefix and suffix
a. Verb *-man-* 'become/happen/exist'
i. Agreement prefix when the Subject is a [+animate] NP

ǰa	*tʰatiŋ*	*amanam / *manaam*
ǰa-∅	tʰatiŋ	a-man-am
1SG-ABS	cold	$1SG_{ABS}$-become-PST.$1SG_{ABS}$

'I am cold' Or 'I became cold'

han	*gunc*	*es*	*loy*	*ʦʰamni*
han	gunc	es	loi-∅	ʦʰamni
one	day	that. [–H, I]	fox-ABS	hungry

*imanimi / *manimi*[14]
i-man-imi
$3MSG_{ABS}$-become-PST.$3MSG_{ABS}$
'One day, that fox became hungry'

han	*gunc*	*um*	*ʦʰamni*	*gumanuma / *manuma*
han	gunc	um-∅	ʦʰamni	gu-man-uma
one	day	2SG-ABS	hungry	$2SG_{ABS}$-become-PST.$2SG_{ABS}$

'One day, you became hungry'

ii. Zero/No agreement prefix when the Subject is a [–Animate] NP

ɣaḍa-ɣaḍaŋ	*manimi / *imanimi*
ɣaḍa-ɣaḍaŋ	man-umi
thunderstorm (Onom.)	become-PST.$3SG_{ABS}$

'There was a thunderstorm'
Or, 'A thunderstorm happened'

b. Verb *-val-* 'fall'
i. Agreement prefix when the Subject is a [+Animate] NP

in	(*xaṭ*)	*ivalimi / *valimi*
in-∅	(xaṭ)	i-val-umi
3SG-ABS	(down)	$3MSG_{ABS}$-fall-PST.$3MSG_{ABS}$

'He fell (down)'

14 Note that *i-* '3MSG' is used as the default agreement marker for both [+human, + masculine] (Singular) as well as [–human] Third Person Singular.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

in (*xaṭ*) *muvalumo / *valumo*
in-∅ (xaṭ) mu-val-umo
3SG-ABS (down) $3FSG_{ABS}$-fall-PST.$3FSG_{ABS}$
'She fell (down)'

ii. Zero/No agreement prefix when the Subject is a [–Animate] NP
sa *valimi / *ivalimi*
sa-∅ val-umi
sun-ABS fall-PST.3SG.$[-H]_{ABS}$
'The sun set' (Lit. 'The sun fell/sank')[15]

baalt *valimi / *ivalimi*
baalt-∅ val-umi
apple-ABS fall-PST.3SG.$[-H]_{ABS}$
'The apple fell'

c. Verb *-ir-* 'die': Only [+Animate] NP with both agreement prefix and agreement suffix
hin *hiles* *iirimi*
hin hiles-∅ i-ir-umi
one.[+H] boy-ABS $3MSG_{ABS}$-die-PST.$3MSG_{ABS}$
'(a/one) boy died'

altan *hilešu* *uiruman*
altan hiles-šu-∅ u-ir-uman
two.[+H] boy-PL-ABS $3PL_{ABS}$-die-PST.$3PL_{ABS}$
'two boys died'

ese (*ẓayite*) *imi,* *es*
es-e (ẓayit-e) i-mi-∅, es-∅
that.[–H, I]-GEN (goat-GEN) 3SG-mother-ABS, that.[–H, I]-ABS
iirimi
i-ir-umi
3SG $_{ABS}$-die-PST.3SG.$[-H, I]_{ABS}$
'Its (i.e. the goat's) mother, it died'
(From the story of Shri Badat; Munshi 2016)

15 This interpretation was given by (needs "the" late) Master Ji but contradicted by Hasina Bano, another speaker of the SB dialect (and daughter of Master Ji) who said that the sentence should mean 'the sun rose' (instead of 'the sun set').

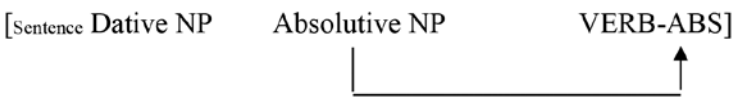
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

In (31) above, an agreement prefix (i.e., a pronominal prefix) appears on the inflected verb when the Absolutive argument is [+Animate]. Such pronominal prefixes are not found in the case of inanimate Absolutive arguments of Group II verbs. Thus, we have (31a)-ii and (31b)-ii with no pronominal prefix for the Absolutive arguments of the verb *man-* 'become/exist' and *val-* 'fall', as opposed to other cases where we have a pronominal prefix for a [+human] argument.

Note that there is evidence of differential use of agreement prefixes with respect to certain intransitive verbs in Burushaski. The difference can be explained in terms of volitionality allowing both Pattern I (+volitional) and Pattern II (–volitional), as observed in forms such as HB *ɣurcimi* 'he dived/submerged (while bathing)' (< /ɣurc-umi/ 'dive-PST.3MSG$_{ABS}$') and *iɣurcimi* 'he sank (to death)' (< /i-ɣurc-umi/ '3SG$_{ABS}$-sink-PST.3MSG$_{ABS}$'), respectively. Although no such examples were attested in the SB database, it can safely be assumed that such alternations are found across dialects.

Pattern III:
This involves verbs of Group III (i.e., verbs which require one Experiencer or Dative argument and one Absolutive argument). The verb carries an agreement suffix for the Absolutive NP. If the complement position of the verb is occupied by an infinitive, the default agreement (i.e., [–human, II]) is observed on the verb. The Dative Experiencer argument in this case does not trigger verb agreement. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (32) as follows:

(32) Pattern III with verbs of Group III: only agreement suffix for Absolutive NP



Consider examples in (33) for illustration:

(33) Dative Experiencer: No agreement
a. *šua ɣan-* 'like; feel good'
i.

ǰaare	*in*	*šua*	*ɣanimi*
ǰa-e-re	in-∅	šua	ɣan-umi
1SG-GEN-DAT	3SG-ABS	good	feel-PST.3MSG$_{ABS}$

'I liked him'
Or, 'He appeared/felt good to me'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii. *ǰaare* *in* *šua* *ɣanumo*
ǰa-e-re in-∅ šua ɣan-umo
1SG-GEN-DAT 3SG-ABS good feel-PST.$3FSG_{ABS}$
'I liked her' (Lit. 'She appeared/felt good to me')

b. x *dil-* 'have (x)'

i. *ǰaare* *tam* *dila*
ǰa-e-re tam-∅ dila
1SG-GEN-DAT swimming-ABS be.PRES.3SG.$[-H, II]_{ABS}$
'I know how to swim' (Lit. 'To me swimming is')

ii. *miire* *tam* *dila*
mi-e-re tam-∅ dila
1PL-GEN-DAT swimming-ABS be.PRES.3SG.$[-H, II]_{ABS}$
'We know how to swim' (Lit. 'To us swimming is')

iii. *ǰaare* *šuriyaar* *dila*
ǰa-e-re šuriyaar-∅ dila
1SG-GEN-DAT happiness-ABS be.PRES.3SG.$[-H, II]_{ABS}$
'I am happy' (Lit. 'To me happiness is')

c. *dil-* in clauses with an infinitive as the verb complement

i. *ǰaare* [*niyas*] *dila*
ǰa-e-re [ni-as]-∅ dila
1SG-GEN-DAT go-INF-ABS be.PRES.3SG.$[-H, II]$
'I have to go'

ii. *ǰaare* [*doro* *etas*] *dila*
ǰa-e-re [doro et-as]-∅ dila
1SG-GEN-DAT work (n.) do-INF-ABS be.PRES.3SG.$[-H, II]$
'I have to work' (Lit. 'I have to do work')

d. *dil-/man-* in clausal verbs like 'know', 'remember', 'think', etc.

i. *ǰaare* *leel* *dila*
ǰa-e-re leel-∅ dila
1SG-GEN-DAT knowledge-ABS be.PRES.3SG.$[-H, II]_{ABS}$
ke ...
ke
COMP
'I know that ...' (Lit. 'To me knowledge is that ...')

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

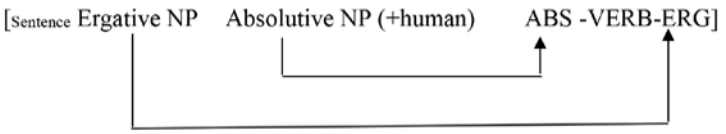
ii. *maare* *leel* *au* *mayimi*
ma-e-re leel-∅ au may-umi
2PL-GEN-DAT knowledge-ABS NEG exist.IPFV-3SG$_{ABS}$
badaxšaan *amli* *dila*
badaxšaan-∅ amli dila
Badakhshan-ABS where be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]$_{ABS}$
'You won't know where Badakhshan (place name) is.'

iv. *ǰaare* *asaṭ* *dila* (XP)
ǰa-e-re a-saṭ-∅ dila (XP)
1SG-GEN-DAT 1SG-memory-ABS be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]$_{ABS}$ (XP)
'I remember (XP) …' Or, 'To me, my memory is (XP …).' Or, 'I have memory (that … XP …)'

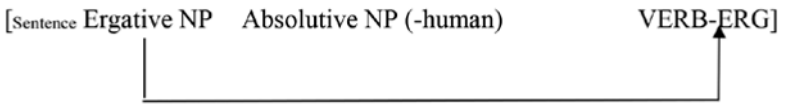
Because Experiencer arguments are inherently [+Animate], [–Animate] NP arguments are not attested in sentences with Group III verbs.

Pattern IV:
This involves transitive verbs of Group IV (i.e., verbs which require one Agent-like Ergative argument and one Patient-like Absolutive argument). The verb carries an agreement suffix for the Ergative NP and an agreement prefix for the Absolutive NP if the latter is [+human]. If, however, the Absolutive NP is [–human], there is a zero or no agreement prefix. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (34) as follows:

(34) Pattern IV with transitive verbs of Group IV: Suffix and prefix agreement
a. Agreement prefix for [+human] Absolutive NP



b. No agreement prefix for [–human] Absolutive NP



Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Consider the examples in (35) and (36) for illustration as follows:

(35) Ergative and Absolutive agreement: Two overt [+human] arguments

a. *-yeec-* 'see'

i. *ṭerizaa* *saliim* *i̇yeecumo*[16]
ṭeriza-e saliim-∅ i-yeec-umo
Teresa-ERG Salim-ABS $3MSG_{ABS}$ -see-PST.$3FSG_{ERG}$
'Teresa(F) saw Salim(M)'

ii. *saliime* *humaa* *muyeecimi*
saliim-e humaa-∅ mu-yeec-umi
Salim-ERG Huma-ABS $3FSG_{ABS}$ -see-PST.$3MSG_{ERG}$
'Salim(M) saw Huma(F)'

b. *-del- ~ -tel-* 'hit'

i. *saliime* *um* *gudelimi*[17]
salim-e um-∅ gu-del-umi
Salim-ERG 2SG-ABS $2SG_{ABS}$ -beat-PST.$3MSG_{ERG}$
'Salim hit you'

ii. *ṭerizaa* *saliim* *idelumo*
ṭeriza-e saliim-∅ i-del-umo
Teresa- ERG Salim-ABS $3MSG_{ABS}$ -beat-PST.$3FSG_{ERG}$
'Teresa(F) hit Salim(M)'

c. *-ṣi-* 'eat'

muutu *ume* *ǰa* *aṣiçu* *ba*
muutu um-e ǰa-∅ a-ṣi-çu ba
now 2SG-ERG 1SG-ABS $1SG_{ABS}$-eat-IPFV be.PRES.$2SG_{ERG}$
'Now (that) you are going to eat me …' or, 'Now (that) you are eating me …'

16 Also *yeecumo* (after initial vowel deletion).

17 A different speaker used the form *gu-tel-imi* in this sentence. It was claimed by a native speaker that the voice alternation leads to a subtle change in meaning. Thus, *-tel-* would mean something like 'hit hard' (Raja Safdar Ali Khan, p.c.).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(36) No prefix agreement with [–human] Absolutive NP

a. *ṣi-* 'eat'

i. *mii* *pʰiṭi* *ṣiman*
mi-e pʰiṭi-∅ ṣi-uman
1PL-ERG bread-ABS eat.SG-PST.PL$_{ERG}$
'We ate bread'

ii. *ǰaa* *han* *pʰiṭiyan* *ṣiyam*
ǰa-e han pʰiṭi-an ṣi-am
1SG-ERG one bread-SG.NDEF eat.SG-PST.1SG$_{ERG}$
'I ate one (loaf of) bread'

iii. *ǰaa* *altac* *pʰiṭimic* *ṣuyam*
ǰa-e altac pʰiṭi-muc ṣu-am
1SG-ERG two bread-PL eat.PL-PST.1SG$_{ERG}$
'I ate two (loaves of) bread'

iv. *loye / loyišoo* *qarqaamuc* *ṣimi / ṣimiyo*
loi-e / loyišo-e qarqaamuc-∅ ṣi-imi / ṣi-miyo
fox(es)-ERG hen-ABS eat.SG-PST.3SG$_{ERG}$ /
eat.SG-PST.PL.[–H, I]$_{ERG}$
'The fox(es) ate the hen'

b. *min-* 'drink'

i. *ǰaa* *cʰil* *minaam*
ǰa-e cʰil-∅ min-aam
1SG-ERG water-ABS drink-PST.1SG$_{ERG}$
'I drank water'

ii. *uu* *mamu* *minuman*
u-e mamu-∅ min-uman
3PL-ERG milk-ABS drink-PST.PL$_{ERG}$
'They drank milk'

iii. *qarqaamuce* *cʰil* *minimi*
qarqaamuc-e cʰil-∅ min-umi
hen-ERG water-ABS drink-PST.3MSG$_{ERG}$
'The hen drank water'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *-del-* 'hit'

i. *kili* *delǰu* *bai*
kili-∅ del-ǰu bai
nail-ABS hit-IPFV be.PRES.3MSG$_{ERG}$
'He is fastening the nail'

ii. *kili* *delǰu* *bo*
kili-∅ del-ǰu bo
nail-ABS hit-IPFV be.PRES.3FSG$_{ERG}$
'She is fastening the nail'

d. *-yeec-* 'see'
qarqaamuce *loy* *yeecimi*
qarqaamuc-e loi i-yeec-umi
hen-ERG fox.ABS 3MSG-see-PRES.3MSG$_{ERG}$
'The hen saw the fox'

Notice that in (35c), the agreement suffix appears on the auxiliary verb. Also notice, in certain verbs such as 'eat' (see (36) above), that the Absolutive agreement for Number with a [–Animate] NP is expressed in the verb root. This distinction is lexical and is limited to a small number of verbs. Also note that when the subject is [–human], the default agreement (i.e., masculine singular) is used for singular nouns. Thus, we have *qarqaamuce/hilase loi yeecimi* 'The hen/boy saw the fox', *qarqaamuce/hilase cʰil minimi* 'The hen/boy drank water'.

There are some exceptions in Group IV verbs where a verb does not exhibit an agreement prefix even if the Absolutive NP is [+human]. Consider the examples with the verb *baren-* 'look at/watch' in (37) for illustration:

(37) Exceptions: verb *baren-* 'look at/watch'

a. *ǰaa* *hilesan* *barenam*
ǰa-e hiles-an baren-am
1SG-ERG boy-SG.NDEF see-PST.1SG$_{ERG}$
'I saw a boy'

b. *ǰaa* *balacan* *barenam*
ǰa-a balac-an baren-am
1SG-ERG bird-SG.NDEF see-PST.1SG$_{ERG}$
'I saw a bird'

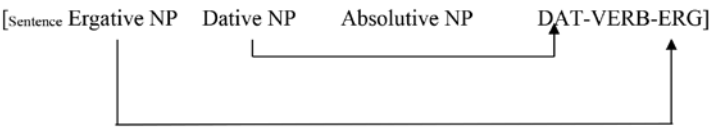
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *ǰaa*	*giraman*	*barenam*
ǰa-a	giram-an	baren-am
1SG-ERG	village-SG.NDEF	see-PST.1SG$_{ERG}$
'I saw a village'		

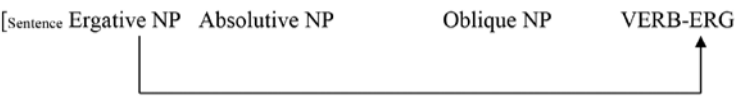
The Object of the verb *baren-* 'look at' in (37) above involves an Indefinite NP not marked for case. In fact, *baren-* usually involves an inanimate object and is used in expressions such as 'Look here', 'Look at this', etc.

Pattern V:
This involves di-transitive verbs of Group V (i.e., verbs with three arguments which require one Agent-like Ergative NP, one Patient-like Absolutive NP and one Recipient/Beneficiary/Goal NP; the latter is Dative when [+Animate] and Oblique when [–Animate]). The verb carries an agreement suffix for the Ergative NP and an agreement prefix for the (animate) Dative NP if present. If, however, there is no animate argument besides the Ergative, only Ergative agreement is observed. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (38) as follows:

(38) Pattern V with Group V verbs
a. Agreement with Ergative NP (suffix) and Dative NP (prefix)



b. Agreement with Ergative NP (suffix) and zero agreement prefix for inanimate Absolutive NP



Pattern V is, in fact, the same as Pattern IV, except that the prefix agreement in the former (Pattern V) is with the Dative argument, while in the case of the latter (Pattern IV) prefix agreement is with the (animate) Absolutive NP. Consider the examples in (39) for an illustration of the Pattern V:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(39) Verbs of Type v: Multi-argument clauses with one Ergative, one Absolutive, and one Dative/Oblique argument

a. Ergative and Dative agreement: No Absolutive agreement

i. *mii* *inere* *baarǰoko* *yuuman*
mi-e in-e-re baarǰoko-∅ i-u-uman
1PL-ERG 3SG-GEN-DAT money-ABS 3MSG$_{DAT}$-give-PST.3PL$_{ERG}$
'We gave him money'

ii. *ine* *inmore* *kitaaban*
in-e in-mo-re kitaab-an
3SG-ERG 3SG-GEN.FSG-DAT book-SG.NDEF
muučo
mu-u-č-o
3FSG$_{DAT}$-give-IPFV-3FSG$_{ERG}$
'She will give her a book'

b. Only Ergative agreement: No agreement with [–Animate] Oblique/Absolutive NP

i. *maaǰide* *meezeṭe* *meeva* *oosimi*
maaǰid-e meez-e-ṭe meeva-∅ oos-imi
Majid-ERG table-GEN-on fruit-ABS put-PST.3MSG$_{ERG}$
'Majid put the fruit(s) on the table'

ii. *ume* *qalam* *kuutoolu* *oosuma*
um-e qalam-∅ kuuto-ulu oos-uma
2SG-ERG pen-ABS pocket-in put-PST.2SG$_{ERG}$
'You put/kept the pen in the pocket'

iii. *ume* *paysa* *gopači* *oosuma*
um-e paysa-∅ go-pači oos-uma
2SG-ERG money-ABS 2SG-near put-PST.2SG$_{ERG}$
'You kept the money with yourself'

Notice in (39) above, the agreement prefix is only expressed with a [+Animate] (Dative) argument.

Based on the patterns discussed above, a schematic representation of the inflected verb with affixes for Tense and nominal agreement is provided in (40) as follows:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(40) Schematic representation of the inflected verb:
(AFFIX 1[ABS/DAT]) – VERB STEM – (AUX) – AFFIX 2[Tense + ERG/ABS Agreement]

Recall that the verb component contains the verb stem and an (optional) auxiliary (in the case of complex verbs). AFFIX 2 contains the agreement features for an Ergative NP in transitive or Absolutive NP in intransitive clauses. In other words, it contains agreement features for the syntactic Subject of the sentence. It also contains agreement markers for Tense (Aspect information is expressed on the verb stem; see Section 5.1 in Chapter 5 for details). AFFIX 1 represents the agreement features for the [+Animate] Absolutive Experiencer in intransitive clauses, [+Animate] Absolutive Patient in mono-transitive clauses, and [+Animate] Dative Recipient in di-transitive clauses. Thus, the pronominal prefix for agreement is only present when the NP involved is [+Animate].[18] This NP is the syntactic (Experiencer) Subject of an intransitive clause and the syntactic Object of a transitive clause (or Direct Object in the case of di-transitive clauses).

Based on the preceding discussion we can argue that two overlapping systems, viz., Case and Agreement, are working in the syntactic system of Burushaski at the same time. The language exhibits a kind of split in terms of case marking and agreement. This is indicated by the fact that there is a sort of "Subject" agreement with Ergative and Absolutive arguments which is expressed in the form of an agreement suffix. What is interesting about Ergativity in this language is that the Ergative case is always expressed irrespective of Tense or Aspect features, while in many of the areal neighbors Ergativity is only observed in the Perfective Aspect (the latter is termed "Split Ergativity" in the literature). Consider the examples in (41) and (42):

(41) Ergative case marked in the Perfective Aspect

a. *salim-e*	*in*	*idelimi*
salim-e	in-∅	i-del-umi
Salim-ERG	3MSG-ABS	$3MSG_{ABS}$-beat-PST.$3MSG_{ERG}$

'Salim beat/hit him'

18 Note that pronominal prefixes are also found in causative verbs. The latter are discussed in Chapter 5. Also, there is a group of verbs called *d*-prefix verbs which behave differently. These are also discussed in Chapter 5.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *mii* *pʰiṭi* *ṣiman*
mi-e pʰiṭi-∅ ṣi-uman
1PL-ERG bread-ABS eat-PST.PL$_{ERG}$
'We ate bread'

d. *ǰaa* *inere* *paysa* *yuuvam*
ǰa-a in-e-re paysa-∅ i-u-am
1SG-ERG 3SG-GEN-DAT money-ABS 3MSG$_{DAT}$-give-PST.1SG$_{ERG}$
'I gave him money'

(42) Ergative case marked in the Imperfective Aspect
a. *ine / salime* *ṣapik* *šeči*
in-e / Salim-e ṣapik-∅ še-č-i
3SG-ERG / Salim-ERG food-ABS eat-IPFV-3MSG$_{ERG}$
'He/Salim will eat food'

b. *sadafe* *ṣapik* *šeču*
sadaf-e ṣapik-∅ *še-č-u*
Sadaf-ERG food-ABS eat-IPFV-3FSG$_{ERG}$
'Sadaf will eat food'

c. *uu* *čaɣa* *eču* *baan*
u-e čaɣa-∅ eču baan
3PL-ERG talk-ABS do.IPFV be.PRES.PL
'They talk/They are talking'

d. *mii* *girmiya* *baan*
mi-e girmiya baan
1PL-ERG write.IPFV be.PRES.PL
'We write/We are writing'

Summarizing the various patterns discussed above, the agreement prefix is indicative of an Accusative pattern and is expressed by the Absolutive or Dative argument. Thus, in the case of intransitive clauses, the only Absolutive NP (or "Subject") always agrees with the verb (suffix only when the action is (+volitional), and both suffix and prefix when it is (–volitional)). In the case of transitive clauses, the Ergative NP (or "Subject") always agrees with the verb (suffix), and an Absolutive NP may also agree if it is animate (prefix). The latter kind of agreement is also observed in di-transitive constructions in which the agreeing NP is an animate Dative (Recipient).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

3.2.2 *Postpositions and Oblique NPs*

Nominals lacking a definite grammatical relation to some predicate have been described as "Oblique" in the literature. For example, in Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri, Gujarati, etc., if a noun phrase is followed by a postposition, the NP may surface in a distinct Oblique form. In SB many postpositions, such as *ṭe* 'on', *kaaṭe ~ kaa* 'with', *piči* 'near', *yaare* 'below', *cum* 'from', and *gene* 'for', assign a Genitive Case to the preceding NP. In a way, therefore, these postpositions behave like Nominals or NPs governing NPs, which assign an Oblique Case to these complement NPs. This Oblique Case is represented by the possessive-marking suffix for nouns in Burushaski, i.e., the Genitive (more on Case in Chapter 5).

The difference between Oblique NPs in Burushaski and those in the Indo-Aryan languages is that in the latter an Oblique pronominal NP appears in a distinct form, while in Burushaski the Oblique feature is realized by the addition of a Genitive Case-ending to the unmarked NP.[19] A noun plus the Genitive Case-ending in these arguments can, therefore, be claimed to be the Oblique form of the noun in Burushaski. Consider the data from SB in (43) for illustration (note: Postpositional Phrases under consideration are in square brackets "[ ]"):

(43) NPs in Oblique form (designated as "Genitive")

a. *kaa/kaaṭe* 'with'

i. [*tiṣe* *kaa*] *hiŋ* *dišinimi*
[tiṣ-e kaa] hiŋ-∅ dišin-umi
[wind-GEN with/by] door-ABS open-PST.3SG.[–H, I]
'The door was opened by the wind' (Instrument/Force)

19 Consider '3SG' *voh* (Absolutive) and *us* (Oblique) in Hindi:

a. *voh* *gayaa*
3SG.ABS left.MSG
'he left'

b. *us* *kaa* *gʰar*
3SG.OBL of.MSG home.M
'his/her home'

c. *us* *par*
3SG.OBL on
'on it/him'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii. *ǰaa* [*ç^{h}ure* *kaa*] *baalt* *čuruk* *etam*
ǰa-e [ç^{h}ur-e kaa] baalt-∅ čuruk et-am
1SG-ERG [knife-GEN with] apple-ABS cut do-PST.1SG
'I cut the apple with a/the knife' (Instrument)

iii. *ǰaa* [*č^{h}ayii* *kaa*] *ɣun* *dišinam*
ǰa-e [č^{h}ayi-e kaa] ɣun-∅ dišin-am
1SG-ERG [key-GEN with] lock-ABS open-PST.1SG
'I opened the lock with the key' (Instrument)

iv. *mi* [*šuguluvane* *kaa*] *bazaar* *niman*
mi-∅ [šugulu-an-e kaa] bazaar-∅ ni-uman
1PL-ABS [friend-SG.NDEF-GEN with] market-ABS go-PST.PL
'We went to the market with a friend' (Comitative)

b. *ṭe* 'on'

i. *maaǰide* [*meezeṭe*] *meeva* *oosimi*
maaǰid-e [meez-e-ṭe] meeva-∅ oos-imi
Majid-ERG [table-GEN-on] fruit-ABS put-PST.3MSG
'Majid put the fruits on the table'

ii. *muštaaqe* [*šiiṭe*] *dustak* *oosimi*
muštaaq-e [ši-e-ṭe] dustak-∅ oos-umi
Mushtaq-ERG [stove- GEN- on] pot-ABS put-PST.3MSG
'Mushtaq put the pot on the stove'

iii. *buṭ* *hoyašo / hoyas* [*saḍekeṭe*] *biyom*
buṭ hoyašo / hoyas-∅ [saḍek-e-ṭe] biyom
many sheep-ABS [road-GEN-on] be.PST.PL.[–H, I]
'Many sheep were on the road'[20]

c. *gane* 'for'

i. *varziš* [*ǰiye* *gane*] *šua* *dila*
varziš-∅ [ǰi-e gane] šua dila
exercise-ABS [life-GEN for] good be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'Exercise is good for health'

20 Note that *hoyas* is used for a herd of cattle, like sheep, goats, etc. For instance, *hoyas-buwa* means '(a herd of) cows'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii. *nimas* *dila* [*ǰoṭumuce* *gane*][21]
nimas-∅ dila [ǰoṭ-muc-e gane]
story-ABS be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] child-PL-GEN for
'(This) is a story for children'

d. *yaare* 'under/down/downstairs'
[*yuuṭise* *yaare*]
[i-uṭis-e yaare]
3MSG-foot-GEN under
'under his foot'

e. *cum* 'from'
i. *ǰaa* [*sadafmo* *cum*] *sabaq* *henam*
ǰa-e [sadaf-mo cum] sabaq hen-am
1SG-ERG Sadaf-GEN.FSG from lesson learn-PST.1SG
'I learned the lesson from Sadaf'

ii. *ǰaa* [*ine* *cum*] (*sabaq*) *henam*
ǰa-e [in-e cum] (sabaq) hen-am
1SG-ERG [3MSG-GEN from] (lesson) learn-PST.1SG
'I learned (the lesson) from him'

We will see later that the Dative suffix also attaches to a Genitive ending (see Chapter 4). In this sense the Dative case behaves like certain postpositions, which attach to an NP in the so-called Oblique form.

Not all postpositions, however, assign Genitive Case to their complement NPs. Those that do not include postpositions such as *ulu* 'in(side)' and (its derivative) *ulum* '(away) from' (Location), *dal* 'out of/through', *mo* 'during', etc. It may be argued that these postpositions simply behave like case markers for functions such as "Ablative" and "Locative" (the latter in terms of location or duration/time), etc. Consider the data in (44) for illustration:

(44) Postpositions that do not assign Genitive Case
a. *ulu* 'in(side)'
i. *ume* *qalam* *kuutoolu* *oosuma*
um-e qalam-∅ kuuto-ulu oos-uma
2SG-ERG pen-ABS pocket-in put- PST.2SG
'You put/kept the pen in the pocket'

21 The word order in this sentence is marked for pragmatic purposes.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii. *ǰaare* *et* *vaxtulu* *buṭ* *šua*
ǰa-e-re et vaxt-ulu buṭ šua
1SG-GEN-DAT that.[–H, II] time-in very good
ɣayiči *bim*
ɣayiči bim
feel.IPFV be.PST.3SG.[–H]
'I used to feel very good during that time'

iii. *datuulu* *tapoŋ* *šal* *eču* *bi*(*yo*)[22]
datu-ulu tapoŋ šal eču biyo
autumn-in leaves fall do.IPFV be.PRES.3PL.[–H, I]
'During winter, leaves fall'

b. *ulum* '(away) from'[23]
i. *mi* *ine* *ii* *zuriyaatulum* *baan*
mi-∅ in-e ii zuriyaat-ulum baan
1PL-ABS 3SG-GEN EMPH descendant-from be.PRES.PL.[+H]
'We are from among his descendants only'

c. *mo* 'during'[24]
bay *mo* *Sirinagarulu* *buṭ* *sardi* *dila*
bay mo sirinagar-ulu buṭ sardi dila
winter during Srinagar-in very cold be. PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'During winter, it is very cold in Srinagar'

Note that in a number of previous studies on Burushaski, these postpositions have been treated as different types of Case. This treatment is a little problematic given their structural features and functions in other contexts (see Tikkanen 1995 and Anderson 2003, among others). For instance, many of these postpositions also behave like adverbial phrases in isolation, and therefore cannot be treated as morphological case endings. Consider the data in (45) which illustrate the use of *ulu* 'in/inside', *yaare* 'down/downstairs', *yeṭe* 'on/above/upstairs' as adverbials of space:[25]

22 Although the speaker said *bi*, the correct form of the auxiliary verb in this sentence is *biyo*.
23 Note that *ulum* could possibly be derived from *ulu* 'in' + *-um*, a nominalizing suffix.
24 It seems the use of *mo* is lexically specific. Thus, *bay mo* 'during winter', *šini mo* 'during summer', but *datu ulu* 'during autumn' (cf. **datu mo*).
25 Compare *yeṭe* 'above' in (42) with *ṭe* 'on' in (40) above, with the latter being phonologically reduced (probably via *sandhi*).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(45) Postpositions as adverbials

a. *ulu* 'inside'

u	*ulu*	*niman*
u-∅	ulu	ni-uman
3PL-ABS	inside	go-PST.PL

'They went inside'

b. *yaare* 'down/downstairs'

yuuṭis	*qaram*	*numan*	(*es*)	*yaare*
i-uṭis	qaram	nu-man	(es)	yaare
3SG-foot	slip	PTCP-exist	3SG.[−H, I]	down

niču	*bi*
niču	bi
go.IPFV	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]

'Its foot having slipped, it fell (all the way) down (into something)'

c. *yeṭe ~yaṭe* 'above/upstairs'

yaṭe	*bim*
yaṭe	bim
upstairs	be.PST.3SG.[−H, I]

'(It) was upstairs'

Note that *ulu* 'inside' differs from *yaare* 'down' in that the former does not seem to assign a Genitive Case ending to the preceding NP while the latter does when functioning as a typical postposition (as seen earlier in Section 3.1.4).

Another frequently occurring postposition which functions as an adverb is *kaaṭe* 'with' as illustrated by the examples in (46):

(46) *kaaṭe* as an adverbial

a.

axone	*sabaq*	*mooseya*	*bai;*	*kʰin*
axon-e	sabaq	moo-seya	bai	kʰin
tutor-GEN	lesson	3F.CAUS-say.IPFV	be.PRES.3MSG	this.[+H]

dasinmore	*kaaṭe*	*kaniizišu*	*altambovan*
dasin-mo-re	kaaṭe	kaniiz-šu	altambo-an
girl-GEN.FSG-DAT	with	maid-PL	eight-SG.NDEF

mei	*baan*
meey	baan
become.IPFV	be.PRES.PL[+H]

'The (religious) tutor gives her lessons; this girl (princess) has about eight maids with her'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *kaaṭe* *manum* *kaaṭe* *axone* *sabaq*
kaaṭe man-um kaaṭe axon-e sabaq
with become-NMLZ with tutor-ERG lesson
mooseya *bam*
moo-seya bam
3F.CAUS-say.IPFV be.PST.3MSG
'With (this) happening, the (religious) tutor gave her lessons'
(From the story *ɣeniṣ ke kaniiz* 'A princess and (her) maid'; Munshi 2016)

Note that the use of *kaaṭe* 'with' was also attested in reduplicated forms such as *kaaṭe-kaaṭe-ii* (= 'with-RED-EMPH', meaning 'simultaneously' or 'while this happened').

There is a set of postpositions in SB, viz., *cum* and *mucum*, designated as 'since, from' (literally 'away from') in this study, which need special attention. Both of these are used for a range of Ablative functions. Although there is a considerable overlap in their grammatical function, the two are not used interchangeably. Consider the data in (47)–(50) for illustration:

(47) *cum* and *mucum* 'from/since' (Temporal)
i. *ǰaa* *in* *sabuur* *mucum/*cum* *au* *yeecam*
ǰa-e in sabuur mucum au i-yeec-am
1SG-ERG 3SG morning since NEG 3SG-see-PST.1SG
'I have not seen him since morning'

ii. *cʰoordi* *cum / *mucum*
tomorrow from
'From tomorrow onwards …'

iii. *hipultu* *mucum / *cum*
day after tomorrow from
'From the day after tomorrow …'

iv. *yaṭum* *den* *cum / *mucum*
next year from
'from next year onwards …'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(48). *cum* 'away from' (Ablative; Spatial)

i. *iraan cum / *mucum iciiṭe,*[26] *kaaṭe muṣai dila*
iraan cum iciiṭe, kaaṭe muṣai dila
Iran from after, beside country be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
afɣaanistaan
afɣaanistaan
Afghanistan
'The country/land on the other side of Iran, close by, is Afghanistan'

ii. *ǰaa rainawaari cum / *mucum mili*
ǰa-e rainawaari cum mili
1SG-ERG Rainawari from medicine
dicam
d-i-c-am
d prefix-3SG-bring-
PST.1SG
'I got the medicine from Rainawari'

(49) *cum* 'from' (Agent)
in cum d-a-yal-um bar dila
3MSG from d prefix-1SG-hear-PTCP talk be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'I have heard this talk/story from him'

(50) *cum* 'than (X)' (Comparison)
duniyaalu uyoon cum uyum ç^{h}iṣ bi
duniya-ulu uyoon cum uyum ç^{h}iṣ bi
world-in all from big mountain be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
neepaalulu
neepaal-ulu
Nepal-in
'The largest (highest) of all mountains in the world is in Nepal'

It is clear from the data above that *cum* and *mucum* have an overlap in terms of their grammatical function. Thus, both can be used as Temporal Ablatives (as seen in (47) above). However, their usage is lexically specific (as illustrated by forms marked with an asterisk "*"). Furthermore, *cum* has various additional functions that *mucum* does not. Thus, *cum* is used as a Spatial Ablative

26 Note that *iciiṭe* could likely be derived from /*ici* + *eṭe*/.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(as in (48)), Ablative of person or agent (as in (49)), as well as Ablative for comparison (as in (50) above). This indicates that *cum* is a more general Ablative as opposed to *mucum*, which is restricted in its function as a temporal ablative, and could possibly be analyzed as /mu-cum/; here, the morpho-syntactic status and semantic content of *mu-* is not very clear (cf. *-mo* in *bay-mo* 'during winter').

Notice also that there is a considerable variation in terms of the presence or absence of the Genitive suffix with respect to certain postpositions. Thus, we have *in-e cum* 'from him' and *Sadaf-mo cum* 'from Sadaf (F)' with a Genitive suffix on the NP in (43-e) above, but also *in cum* 'from him' in (49) and *oyoon cum* 'from all' in (50) without a Genitive suffix on the NP. Also compare forms such as *iriin cum* 'from (his) hand' (where *iriin* </i-riin/ '3FSG- hand'), *baṭ cum* 'from stone', *muu cum* 'from her father' (where *muu* < /mu-u/ '3FSG-father') in HB (Munshi 2016). It is possible that the animacy of the NP has something to do with at least some of these variations while others could possibly be explained through an analogical change of leveling in progress.

3.3 Question Formation

The formation of Yes/No-questions as well as of *wh*-questions follows the areal typology of the language.

3.3.1 *Yes-No Questions*

Yes-No Questions in SB are formed by the addition of an enclitic *-a* to the inflected verb in phrase-final position. Consider the data in (51) for illustration:

(51) Yes-No Questions

a. (*um*)	*raahat*	*baa*?	(Y/N Question)
(um-∅)	raahat	ba=a	
(2SG-ABS)	comfortable	be.PRES.2SG=QM	
'How are you?' (Lit. 'Are you fine/comfortable?')			
(*ǰa*)	*raahat*	*ba*	(Statement)
(ǰa-∅)	raahat	ba	
(1SG-ABS)	comfortable	be.PRES.1SG	
'(I) am fine'			

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. (*ume*) *šua* *baa?* (Y/N Question)
(ume-∅) šua ba=a
(2SG-ABS) good be.PRES.2SG=QM
'Are you good?' (= 'How are you?')

(*ǰa*) *šua* *ba* (Statement)
(ǰa-∅) šua ba
(1SG-ABS) good be.PRES.2SG
'(I) am good'

c. *um* *kʰot* *etas* *goomayama?* (Y/N Question)[27]
um-∅ kʰot et-as goo-may-uma=a
2SG-ABS this.[–H, I] do-INF 2SG-exist.IPFV-2SG=QM
'Can you do this?' (Or 'Will you be able to do this?')

ǰa *kʰot* *etas* *aamayam* (Statement)
ǰa-∅ kʰot et-as aa-may-am
1SG-ABS this.[–h, -II] do-INF 1SG-exist.IPFV-1SG
'I can do this' (Or 'I will be able to do this')

d. *in* *kʰot* *etas* *eemayimiya?* (Y/N Question)
in-∅ kʰot et-as ee-may-umi=a
3SG-ABS this.[–H, II] do-INF 3MSG-exist.IPFV-3SG=QM
'Can he do this?' (Or 'Will he be able to do this?')

in *kʰot* *etas* *eemayimi* (Statement)
in-∅ kʰot et-as ee-may-umi
3SG-ABS this.[–H, -II] do-INF 3MSG-exist.IPFV-3SG
'He can do this' (Or 'He will be able to do this')

e. *ničama?* (Y/N Question)
ni-č-am=a
go-IPFV-1 SG=QM
'Shall I go?'

27 Note that pronominal prefixes appear with vowels in two different grades as long and short. Thus, we gave *a-/aa-* '1Sg', *gu-/goo-* '2Sg', *i-/ee-* '3Sg', and so on.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ničam (Statement)
ni-č-am
go-IPFV-1SG
'I will go' (It also means 'I am going')

f. *ume* *ṣimaa?* (Y/N Question)
um-e ṣi-ma=a
2SG-ERG eat-PST.2SG=QM
'Did you eat?'

g. *mamoolu* *šakar* *gimaa?* (Y/N Question)
mamo-ulu šakar gi-ma=a
milk-in sugar put-PST.2SG=QM
'Did you add sugar to the milk?'

Note that Yes-No questions are also characterized by the presence of a special rising intonation in phrase-final position. While the presence of the question-forming suffix is optional, presence of the final question intonation is obligatory. This is also a typical areal feature.

3.3.2 Wh-*Questions*

Interrogative words, generally referred to as "*wh*-questions" in the literature, are very straightforward in Burushaski. As noted in Section 3.1.1, the question/interrogative words in Burushaski occupy the pre-verbal Focus position of the clause – a widespread phenomenon in South Asian languages.[28] Most of the question words in SB start with *b-*, such as *besen* 'what', *bes* 'why', *bezeele* 'how; in what way', *bešal* 'when', *bene* 'how; in what manner', *boormaan* 'how much', etc. For [+human] nouns, however, the question word is *men-* 'who'. And the question word meaning 'where' is *amuli~amli.* Consider the examples in (52) to (54):

(52) *What* questions: when the NP is [–human]
a. *ume* *guyik* *besen* *dila?*
um-e gu-ik besen dila
2SG-GEN 2SG-name what be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'What is your name?'

28 Kashmiri is a special case among the South Asian languages where the finite verb typically occupies the second position in the sentence following what is called a V-2 syntax. In question formation, however, the interrogative phrase moves to the preverbal position, thus taking the second position and pushing the inflected verb to the third position of the clause (see Munshi & Bhat 2009: 220).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *almaariilu* *besen* *bi?*
almaari-ulu besen bi
cupboard-in what be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
'What is in the cupboard?'

(53) *Who* questions: when the NP is [+human]
a. *in* *mene* *esqanimi?*
in-∅ men-e e-sqan-umi
3SG-ABS who-ERG 3MSG-kill-PST.3MSG
'Who killed him?' Or 'Which man killed this man?'

b. *ine* *menan* *esqanimi?*
in-e men-an e-sqan-umi
3SG-ERG who-SG.NDEF 3MSG-kill-PST.3MSG
'Whom did he kill?' Or 'Which man did this man kill?'

(54) Interrogative adverbs: 'why', 'how', 'what kind', 'when', and 'where'
a. *bes* 'why'
i. *ume* *kʰot* *bes* *dusuma?*
um-e kʰot bes dusu-uma
2SG-ERG this.[–H, II] why bring.[–H, II]-PST.2SG
'Why did you bring this ([–concrete] thing)?'

ii. *kʰos* *baalt* *ume* *bes* *dicuma?*
kʰos baalt um-e bes dicuma
this.[–H, I] apple 2SG-ERG why bring.[–H, I]-PST.2SG
'Why did you bring this apple?'

iii. *um* *kʰole* *bes* *huruša* *ba?*
um-∅ kʰole bes huruša ba
2SG-ABS here why sit.IPFV be.PRES.2SG
'Why are you sitting here?'

b. *bene* 'how'
i. *ume* *kʰot* *bene* *dusuma?*
um-e kʰot-∅ bene dusu-uma
2SG-ERG this.[–H, II]-ABS how bring.[–H, II]-PST.2SG
'How did you bring this (liquid or some [–concrete/solid] thing)?'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii. *ume* *kʰos* *baalt* *bene* *dicuma?*
um-e kʰos baalt-∅ bene dic-uma
2SG-ERG this.[–H, I] apple-ABS how bring.[–H, I]-PST.2SG
'How did you bring this apple?'

c. *bezeele* 'what kind'

i. *insaane* *amit* *vaxtulu* *bezeele* *doro*
insaan-e amit vaxt-ulu bezeele doro-∅
human-ERG which.[– H, II] time-in what.kind work-ABS
etas *avaaǰi?*
et-as avaaǰi
do-INF should
'What kind of work should human(s) do at what time?'
(From the story *Loi ke biiro*)

ii. *ume* *guu* *bezeele* *bam?*
um-e gu-u-∅ bezeele bam
2SG-GEN 2SG-father-ABS what.kind be.PST.3MSG
'What type (of a person) was your father?'

d. *bešal* 'when'
kʰoke *tomičaŋ* *neegin* *esere*
kʰoke tom-ičaŋ-∅ nu-eegi-in es-e-re
these.[–H, II] tree-PL-ABS PTCP-plant-PTCP that.[–H, I]-GEN-DAT
bešal *pʰalo* *yeeymi?*
bešal pʰalo yeey-mi
when fruits carry.IPFV-3MSG
'After having sown/planted these trees, when will it carry fruits?'

e. *amli* (< *amuli*) 'where'
in *amli* *ni* *bam?*
in-∅ amuli ni bam
3SG-ABS where go be.PST
'Where did he go?'

Notice that except for *amli* 'where' and *men-* 'who', all other question words begin with *be-*. This cannot be a coincidence. It can be inferred from the data above that *be-* is a question-forming stem which can be translated as 'what' or 'something' elsewhere (cf. *be* 'no' in *bes ke be* 'nothing (at all)').

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Note that, when used in relative clauses, question words occupy the clause-initial position as opposed to the pre-verbal Focus position of the interrogative clauses (for a discussion of relative clauses, see Section 3.4.3 below).

3.4 Clause Combination

Different strategies are used in Burushaski to make complex sentences. One thing that is common in a variety of different types of complex sentences in SB is the use of a functional category *ke*, sometimes designated as "COMP" in this study. While its use as a complementizer could be a contact-influence from Urdu (or Persian) *ke* and, in its occasional variant *ki*, perhaps from Kashmiri, *ke* has additional syntactic functions indigenous to Burushaski. It is used as a coordinating conjunction 'and' in coordinated NPs as well as conjoined clauses. It is also used as a subordinating conjunction in complex sentences, which include complementation, relative clause formation, and different types of adverbial clauses. In certain contexts, such as immediately following NPs and relative pronouns, *ke* functions as an adverb meaning 'as well' or 'also'. Specifically, following an NP, *ke* is interpreted as an adverb 'also', and when following a relative pronoun or a question word, it gives an indefinite reading (e.g., *amin ke* 'whoever', *besen ke* (~*bes ke*) 'whatever', *amit ke* 'whichever/whenever'). It can also occur in non-finite clauses as a (post-clausal) conjunction. As a complementizer, *ke* precedes the embedded/complement clause (i.e., the clause that it dominates) and is optional. As a coordinating conjunction, *ke* occurs between clauses and is obligatory. Another function of *ke* is that of a discourse marker, in which case it is post-clausal. Consider the data in (55) illustrating some of the different syntactic functions of *ke*:[29]

29 Compare *daa* 'and/further/again' elsewhere, which may overlap in its function with *ke* in certain contexts, and yet cannot be used interchangeably with *ke* elsewhere; it seems *daa* can only appear clause-initially. Consider the examples below:

a. *ke/daa* *hilešuyik* *apam*
ke/daa hilešu-ik a-bam
and boy-PL.NDEF NEG-be.PST.PL.[+H]
'(and/further) there were no boys/sons (to him)'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(55) Different functions of *ke*

a. As a coordinating conjunction 'and' between NPs: [NP_1 *ke* NP_2]

i. *ɣeniṣ* *ke* *kaniiz*
ɣeniṣ ke kaniiz
princess and maid
'a princess and (her) maid'

ii. *loy* *ke* *biiro*
loy ke biiro
fox and rooster
'(a) fox and (a) rooster'

iii. [*huk* *ke* *buš*] *manaas*
[huk ke buš] man-aas
dog and cat become-INF
'to fight like enemies' (Lit. 'to become [a] dog and [a] cat')

---

b. *hir* *ke/*daa* *gus*
man and woman
'man and woman'

c. *daa/*ke* *besen*
and what
'what else?'

d. *amin/besen* *ke/*daa*
who/what also
'whoever/whatever'

e. *um-e* *kʰote* *tom* *eegiçu* *ba,* *daa* *ke*
2SG-ERG this.[-H, II] tree sow.IPFV be.PRES.2SG, and COMP
bes-ik, *buuṭ-ik* *eegiçu* *ba*
how.much-PL.NDEF, lot.of-PL.NDEF sow.IPFV be.PRES.2SG
'You are sowing this tree and then you are sowing so many of these …'
(From the story *Mapʰeer ke tʰam* 'the old man and the king')

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. As an adverb 'also' with NPs and relative pronouns: [NP *ke*]

i. With NPs[30]

[*matum*	*huk*	*ke*]	*huk,*	[*burum*	*huk*	*ke*]	*huk*
[matum	huk	ke]	huk	[burum	huk	ke]	huk
black	dog	also	dog	white	dog	also	dog

'A black dog too (is) a dog, (and) a white dog too (is) a dog'
(A provervial expression used to describe someone being of a mean character irrespective of their external appearance).

[*ine*	*ke*]	*tʰalo*	*yuwa*	*bam*
[ine	ke]	tʰalo	yuwa	bam
3SG.GEN	also	seven	sons	be.PST

'He also had seven sons.'

ine	*kaaṭe*	*iimu*	[*sis*	*ke*]	*bam*
in-e	kaaṭe	iimu	[sis	ke]	bam
3SG-GEN	with	his own	people	also	be.PST.3SG

'His people were also with him'

ii. With relative pronouns[31]

[*amli*	*ke*]	*besen*	*mey*	*bi*]		*ke*
[amuli	ke]	besen	mey	bi		ke
where	also	what	become.IPFV	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]		COMP
insaanere		*eseṭe*		*nazar*	*manaas*	*avaaǰi*
insaan-e-re		e-s-e-ṭe		nazar	man-aas	avaaǰi
human-GEN-DAT		3MSG-heart-GEN-on		view	exist-INF	ought

'Wherever something happens, a human being should keep an eye on it (i.e., be vigilant).'

30 Also compare data from HB:

[*ine*	*ke*]	*tʰalo*	*yuwa*	*bam*
in-e	ke	tʰalo	yuwa	bam
3SG-GEN	also	seven.[+H]	his.sons	be.PST.3SG.[+H]

'He also/too had seven sons'

31 Here *ke* could be possibly compared with Hindi-Urdu *bʰi* which is multifunctional (e.g. *voh bʰi* 'he/she/it too', *ǰo bʰi* 'whoever', *kučʰ bʰi* 'whatever', and so on).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. As a conjunction with non-finite clauses: [XP *ke*]

i. [*etas* *xaa ke*] *ine* *senimi* (*ke*) ...
[et-as xaa ke] in-e senimi (ke)
do-INF until also 3SG-ERG say.PST.3MSG COMP
'(Right) after doing (that), he said that ...'
Or, 'Having done that, he said that ...'

ii. [*senas* *xaa ke*] *vaziire* *senimi* (*ke*) *"ya*
[sen-as xaa ke] vaziir-e senimi (ke) "ya
say-INF until also minister-ERG say.PST.3MSG COMP VOC
ǰuu, *ine* *pači* *niyas* *besen* *zaruurat*
ǰuu, in-e pači ni-as besen zaruurat
Sir 3SG-GEN near go-INF something need
api"
a-bi"[32]
NEG-be.PRES.3SG.[–H]
'(Right) after saying that, the minister said, "Yes, Sir, there is no need to go near him"'

d. As a discourse marker (DM) in narrative discourse: [IP] *ke*

[*niču* *bai* *ke* *sahii ...*] *ke,*
[niču bai ke sahii ... ke,
go.IPFV be.PRES.3MSG and right DM,

taxša, *ese* *kʰane* *doipame* *taxšaan*
taxša, ese kʰan-e doipa-me taxšaan
shelf that.[–H, I] fort-GEN right-LOC shelf.SG.NDEF
bi
bi
be.PRES.SG.[–H, I]

32 Note that both *bi* and *dila* surface as *api* in the negative; this could be the result of an analogical change.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

eseṭe	*bi*		*sanduqan;*	[*dišu*	*bai*
eseṭe	bi		sanduq-an;	[dišu	bai
on.it	be.PRES.SG.[–H, I]		box-SG.NDEF	bring.IPFV	be.PRES.3MSG
ke	*ẓuṣu*	*bai*]	*ke*		
ke	ẓuṣu	bai]	ke		
and	come.IPFV	be.PRES.3MSG	DM		

'He goes out, (and) then, (on the) right (DM), (a) shelf … there is a shelf on the right side of the fort. On it, there is a box; (he) brings it (the box) and comes (back), DM.'

Notice in (55-b) and (55-c), *ke* as the adverb 'also' is phrase-final. As a discourse marker, it can be claimed to be clause-external. Additional uses of *ke* will be discussed and illustrated in the following sections on different types of clause combinations in SB.

3.4.1 *Coordination*

In coordinating clauses, a conjunction such as *ke* 'and', *magar* 'but', or *yaa* 'or', is inserted between two adjacent clauses. More than two clauses can be coordinated by placing the clauses next to each other with an obligatory conjunction between clauses. The structure of a coordinated clause with two clauses is given in Fig. 4.[33]

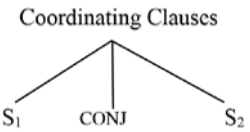


FIGURE 4 Structure of coordinating clauses

33 As far as coordination is concerned, experts are divided in terms of whether or not coordinate structures should be analyzed according to the basic tree conventions employed for subordination. The structure in Figure 4 is based on a traditional flat exocentric analysis.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Note that S_1 and S_2 may either be simple or complex clauses as illustrated in the examples below:

(56) Coordinating conjunction *ke* 'and'

a. *han* *gunc-ulu* *es* *ç^{h}amni* *imanimi*
han gunc-ulu es ç^{h}amni i-man-umi
one day-in that.[−H, I] hungry 3MSG-exist-PST.3MSG
ke *iimu,* *besen,* *ṣapik-an,*
ke iimu, besen, ṣapik-an,
and his (own), something, food-SG.NDEF
ṣiyas-minaasan *yeguçumane* *guc^{h}arimi*
ṣiyas-minaas-an yeguçu-mane guc^{h}ar-umi
eat.INF-drink.INF-SG.NDEF search.IPFV-become walk-PAST.3MSG
'One day he felt hungry and he went searching some … his … (*false start*) … (he went searching) some food, something to eat and drink'

b. *yeecimi* (*ke*) *han* *giram-an* *dilum*
i-yeec-umi (ke) han giram-an dilum
saw.PST.3MSG COMP one village-SG.NDEF be. PST.[−H, II]
ke *ese* *maliŋulu* *yeecimi* (*ke*)
ke ese maliŋ-ulu i-yeec-umi (ke)
and that village-in saw.PST.3MSG 3MSG-see.PAST.3MSG COMP
qarqaamučoyik *buuṭik* *biyom*
qarqaamučo-ik buuṭik biyom
hens-PL.NDEF many be.PAST.PL.[−H, I]
'He saw (that) there was a village and in that village he saw (that there) were many hens'
(From the story *Loi ke biiro* '(a) fox and (a) rooster'; see Appendix)

(57) Coordinating conjuction *yaa ~ ya* 'or'

a. *ke* *ele* *bar* *dilum* *k^{h}in* *dev*
ke ele bar dilum k^{h}in dev
and there talk be.PST.3SG.[−H, II] this.[+H] demon
bai *yaa* *besen* *bai*
bai yaa besen bai
be.PRES.3MSG or what be.PRES.3MSG
'And there it was believed that he was a demon or he was something like that' (Or, 'And, there was a story there that he was a demon or that he was something')
(From the story of Shri Badat; Munshi 2016)

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(58) Coordinating conjunction *magar* 'but'

širi	*badate*	*vaziirišu*	*ke*	*buṭ*	*taŋ*	*duu*
širi	badat-e	vaziir-šu	ke	buṭ	taŋ	duu
Shri	Badat-GEN	minister-PL	also	much	fed.up	come.3PL

bam,	*bes*	*ke*	*sis*	*uṣuṣu*	*bam;*
bam	bes	ke	sis	u-ṣuṣu	bam
be.PST.[+H],	because	COMP	people	3PL-eat.IPFV	be. PST.3MSG.[+H];

sis	*pʰaṣ*	*mayaar*	*doonuman,*	*daa*	*ǰavaayu,*	
sis	pʰaṣ	mayaare	doon-uman	daa	ǰavaan-yu	
people	finish	become.IPFV.DAT	start-PST.PL	and	young-PL,	

magar	*osulu*	*au*	*baliči*	*bim*
magar	o-s-ulu	au	baliči	bim
but	3PL-heart-in	NEG	enter.IPFV	be.PST.3SG.[−H, I]

kʰinere	*besan*	*ečan*	
kʰin-e-re	besan	eč-an	
this.[+H]-GEN-DAT	what	do.IPFV-PL	

'Shri Badat's ministers also were fed up (with Shri Badat) because he ate people; people were decreasing in number, and young people too, but they did not understand what to do with him' (or, 'how to get rid of him.)'

(From the story of Shri Badat; Munshi 2016)

Note that while *ke* is used in more than one context pointing to an indigenous function (at least in some contexts), the use of (the borrowed) *magar* 'but' and *yaa* 'or' as coordinating conjunctions clearly reflects an areal influence; the latter are used in a number of other South Asian languages including Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri.

3.4.2 *Complementation*

Complementation in SB is observed by optionally inserting a complementizer *ke* ~ *ki* before an embedded clause – a strategy also observed in various areal neighbors including Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri. This is schematically represented in Fig. 5.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

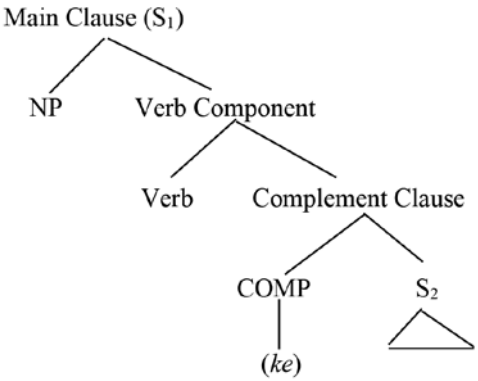


FIGURE 5 Structure of a complementizer clause

Consider the data in (59) for illustration:

(59) *ke* as a complementizer[34]

a. *ǰaa* *senam* [(*ke*) [*ǰaa* *aço*[35]
ǰa-a senam [(ke) [ǰa-a a-ço
1SG-ERG say.PST.1SG [(COMP) [1SG-GEN 1SG-sibling
haale *bai*]]
haa-le bai]]
home-LOC be.PRES.3MSG]]
'I said that my sibling (of the same sex as me) was at home' (Lit. '... is at home')

b. *ume* *senuma* [(*ke*) [*ǰa* *ɣaliis* *ba*]]
um-e senuma [(ke) [ǰa ɣaliis ba]]
2SG-ERG said.2SG [(COMP) [1SG-ABS ill be.PRES.1SG]]
'You said that you were ill (Lit. '.... that I am ill')'

34 For an illustration of complementation in the areal neighbors of Burushaski, consider the following examples from Kashmiri and Hindi/Urdu:

a. Kashmiri
ce$_i$ *vonut^h* [(*ki/zi*) *bi*$_i$ *č^{h}us* *bemaar*]
3SG.ERG said (COMP) 1SG.ABS be.PRES.1MSG ill
'You said that you were ill' (Lit. '.... that I am ill')'

b. Hindi/Urdu
us$_i$*-ne* *kahaa* [(*ke*) *mɛ̃*$_i$ *biimaar* *hũũ*]
3SG.OBL-ERG said (COMP) 1SG-ABS ill be.PRES.1SG
'He/she$_i$ said that he/she$_i$ was ill (Lit. '.... that I am ill')'

35 Note that *aço* means 'my brother' when the speaker (possessor) is masculine and 'my sister' when the possessor is feminine (see "kinship terms" in Chapter 5 for details).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *ume* *ǰaare* *senuma* [(*ke*) [*inmo*
um-e ǰa-a-re senuma [(ke) [in-mo
2SG-ERG 1SG-GEN-DAT said.2SG [(COMP) [3SG-GEN.FSG
muuyar *ooɣatanasan* *bai*]]
mu-uyar ooɣatanas-an bai]]
3FSG-spouse teacher-SG.NDEF.SG be.PRES.3MSG]]
'You told (said to) me that her husband was a teacher' (Lit. '..... is a teacher')

d. *yeecimi* [(*ke*) [*han* *giraman*
i-yeec-imi [(ke) [han giram-an
3MSG-see- PST.3MSG [(COMP) one village-SG.NDEF
dilum] *ke* [*ese* *maliŋulu* *yeecimi*
dilum] ke [ese maliŋ-ulu i-yeecimi
be.PST.SG.[–H, II]] and this.[–H, I] village-in 3MSG-saw-3MSG
[(*ke*) *qarqaamučoyik* *buuṭik* *biyom*]]
[(ke) qarqaamu-čo-ik buuṭik biyom]]
[(COMP) hen-PL-PL.NDEF many be.PST.PL.[–H, I]]]
'(He) saw (that) there was a village there and in this village he saw (that there) were many roosters/hens
(Example repeated from (56-b))

Notice in (59-d) above *ke* is used for both complementation as well as coordination.

Here it is important to note that in narrative discourse a quotative *nusenin* 'having said' often appears in addition to the complementizer *ke*, flanking cited discourse or direct speech. Consider the following excerpt from narrative discourse:

(60) Complementation and use of quotative *nusenin* in narrative discourse:
map^{h}eere *leel* *apim* *ke*
map^{h}eer-e-re leel a-bim ke
old.man-GEN-DAT knowledge NEG-be.PST.3SG.[–H] COMP
in *t^{h}am* *bai* *nusenin,* *ke* *menen*
in t^{h}am bai nu-sen-in ke menen
3SG king be.PRES.3MSG PTCP-say-PTCP (=QUOT) and who.SG
šuwa *sisan,* *šuwa* *gaṭoŋik* *nupel*
šuwa sisan, šuwa gaṭoŋ-ik nu-bel
good person.SG.NDEF good dresses. PL.NDEF PTCP-wear

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

bam,	*kʰine*	*senimi*	*šuwa*	*sisan*	
bam,	kʰin-e	sen-umi	šuwa	sis-an	
was.[+H],	this.[+H]-ERG	say-PST.3MSG	good	person-SG.NDEF	
meyimi,	*nusenin*	*in*	*yakal*	*barenas*	*xaa*
may-umi	nusenin	in	yakal	baren-as	xaa
exist.IPFV-3MSG	QUOT	3SG.[+H]	towards	watch-INF	until
ke	*tʰame*	*inere*	*ǰuu*	*etimi.*	
ke	tʰam-e	in-e-re	ǰuu	e-t-umi	
COMP	king-ERG	3SG-GEN-DAT	greeting	3SG-do-PST.3MSG	

'The old man did not know that "he is the king" (UNQUOTE). (The old man thought) that "(he is) some good man" … He (the king) was wearing good clothes; he (the old man) said (thought/understood that) "he might be a nice man/gentleman" (UNQUOTE). The king greeted him (the old man) as he looked towards him.'

(Excerpt from the story *Mapʰeer ke tʰam* 'The old man and the king'; see Appendix)

Structures like these, widely found in other South Asian languages, seem to "blend" the Persian-origin preposed complementizer construction with what appears to be a native postposed quotative construction, thus presenting challenges to grammatical theory (see chapter 5 in Hock & Bashir 2017: 575).

3.4.3 *Relative Clause Formation*

Relative clauses in SB are formed by a Relative-Correlative construction with a pre-nominal *relative pronoun* (i.e., preceding the relativized NP) in the modifying/relative clause, and a *correlative pronoun* in the correlative clause which follows the relative clause. This is consistent with areal languages such as Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri. As in the case of complementation, for relativization also, *ke* is optionally added in a way like a conjunctive, i.e., before a complete clause. Such a construction is schematically represented in Figure 6.

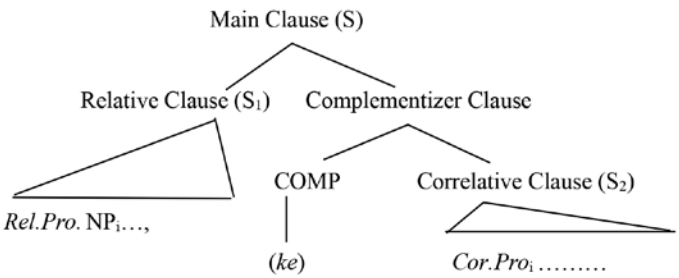


FIGURE 6 Structure of a relative-correlative construction

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Relative-correlative constructions are quite common in the areal neighbors of Burushaski. While some of these languages, such as Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri, do not have a post-relative clause marker (i.e., the element *ke* or its equivalent), many of them, such as Kalam-Kohistani, do (see chapter 5 in Hock & Bashir 2017: 571).[36]

Like other dialects of Burushaski, SB uses different relative pronouns based on Noun class and Number (see Chapter 4). For instance, in a complex construction with a relativized [+human] NP, the relative pronoun *amin* is used for Singular and *menik* for Plural nouns. For [–human] nouns belonging to class I, the relative pronoun *amis* is used for Singular and *amic* for Plural nouns. In the case of [–human] nouns of class II, *amit* and *amik* are used for Singular and Plural forms, respectively. Consider the examples in (61) and (62):

(61) Relative clauses with relativized [+human] NPs

a. *amin*		*hiles*	*sabuur*	*kʰole*	*dii*	*bam*,
amin		hiles	sabuur	kʰole	dii	bam,
which.SG.[+H]		boy	yesterday	here	come.3MSG	be.PST.SG
(*ke*)	*in*	*ǰaa*	*ayi*		*bai*	
(ke)	in	ǰa-a	a-yi		bai	
COMP	3SG	1SG-GEN	1SG-offspring		be.PRES.3MSG	

'The boy who came here yesterday is my son' (Lit. 'Which boy came here yesterday, (that) he is my son')

36 Consider the following relative-correlative construction from Hindi/Urdu for illustration; notice that the head of the relativized NP can appear either in the Relative or in the Correlative clause:

ǰo laḍkaa $_i$	*kal*	*aaya*	*tʰaa,*	(**ke*)	*voh* $_i$	*mera*
Rel boy	yesterday	come.PFV	be.PST.MSG	COMP	*Cor*	my.MSG
beṭa	*hæ*					
son	be.PRES.3SG					

Or,

ǰo $_i$	*kal*	*aaya*	*tʰaa,*	(**ke*)	*voh laḍkaa* $_i$	*mera*
Rel	yesterday	come.PFV	be.PST.MSG	COMP	*Cor* boy	my.MSG
beṭa	*hæ*					
son	be.PRES.3SG					

'The boy who came yesterday (he) is my son'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *amin* *dasine* *gulaabi* *gaṭoŋ* *beľǰu* *bo*,
amin dasin-e gulaabi gaṭoŋ beľǰu bo,
which.SG.[+H] girl-ERG pink dress wear.IPFV be.PRES.3FSG
(*ke*) *in* *ǰaa* *ayi* *bo*
(ke) in ǰaa a-yi bo
COM 3SG my 1SG-offspring be.PRES.3FSG
'The girl who is wearing pink dress is my daughter' (Lit. 'Which girl is wearing pink dress, (that) she is my daughter')

c. *menik* *hilešu* *kamraulu* *baan,* (*ke*) *u*
menik hilešu kamra-ulu baan, (ke) u
which.PL.NDEF boys room-in be.PRES.PL COMP 3PL
ǰaa *šugulumuc* *baan*
ǰaa šugulu-muc baan
my friend-PL be.PST.PL
'The boys who are in the room are my friends' (Lit. 'Which boys are in the room, (that) they are my friends')

d. *in*(*e*) *siliẓin* *amine* *umere* *kitaab*
in(e) siliẓin amin-e um-e-re kitaab-∅
3SG lady which.SG.[+H]-ERG you-GEN-DAT book-ABS
guč^{h}imo, (*ke*) *in* *maneeǰar* *bo*
gu-č^{h}i-mo, (ke) in-∅ maneeǰar bo
2SG-give-PST.3FSG, COMP 3SG-ABSG manager be-PRES.3FSG
'That lady who gave you that book (*that* she) is the/a manager' (Lit. 'That lady who gave you that book, *that* she is the/a manager')

e. *amin* *sis* *voṭulu*[37] *bai*, (*ke*)
amin sis-∅ voṭ-ulu bai (ke)
which.SG.[+H] person-ABS corridor-in be.PRES.3MSG COMP
in *k^{h}ote* *sukuule* *prinsipal* *bam*
in-∅ k^{h}ote sukuul-e prinsipal bam
3SG-ABS this school-GEN principal be.PST.MSG
'The man who is in the hallway/corridor was the principal of this school' (Lit. 'Which man is in the hallway/corridor, (that) he was the principal of this school')

37 Note that *voṭ* 'corridor' is a lexical borrowing from Kashmiri in SB.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

f. *amin* *hiles* *kamraulu* *bai,* (*ke*)
amin hiles kamra-ulu bai, (ke)
which.SG.[+H] boy room-in be.PRES.3MSG COMP
inere *ustaade* *ic^{h}arkanimi*
in-e-re ustaad-e i-c^{h}arkan-umi
3SG-GEN-DAT teacher-ERG 3MSG-beat.PAST.3MSG
'The boy who is in the room was beaten by the teacher' (Lit. 'Which boy is in the room, (*that*) the teacher beat him')

(62) Relative clauses with relativized [–human] NPs
a. [–human] nouns of class I
i. *amis* *ḍabaa* *meeze* *yaare* *bi,*
amis ḍabaa-∅ meez-e yaare bi
which.SG.[–H, I] box-ABS table-GEN under be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
(*ke*) *es* *ǰaa* *bi*
(ke) es-∅ ǰa-e bi
COMP 3SG.[–H, I]-ABS 1SG-GEN be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
'The box which is under the table is mine' (Lit. 'Which box is under the table, (*that*) it is mine')

ii. *amic* *keelamuc* *k^{h}areṭiilu* *biyo,*
amic keela-muc k^{h}areṭi-ulu biyo,
which.PL.[–H, I] banana-PL basket-in be.PRES. 3PL.[–H, I]
(*ke*) *ec* *oɣasi* *biyo*
(ke) ec oɣasi biyo
COMP 3PL.[–H, I] spoilt be.PRES.3PL.[–H, I]
'The bananas which are in the basket are spoilt' (Lit. 'Which bananas are in the basket, *that* they are spoilt')

b. [–Human] nouns of class II
i. *ine* *šahzaadi* *amit* *dišilu* *hurušu*
ine šahzaadi amit diši-lu hurušu
3SG princess which.SG.[–H, II] place-in sit.IPFV
bo, (*ke*) (*et*) *t^{h}aanum*
bo, (ke) (et) t^{h}aanum
be.PRES.3FSG COMP that.[–H, II] high
dišan *may* *bi*
diš-an may bi
place-SG.INDEF exist-IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H]
'The place where that princess lived, was high (elevated)'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii. *senimi* *“ǰaa* *mapʰeerišo* *amik*
sen-umi “ǰa-e mapʰeer-šo amik
say.PST.3MSG 1SG-GEN old-PL which.PL.[–H, II]
tomičaŋ *eegi* *bam,* *ke* *ese* *pʰalo ... .”*
tom-ičaŋ eegi bam, ke es-e pʰal-o .....”
tree-PL sow be.PST COMP that.[–H, I]-GEN fruit-PL.....
‘He said: “The trees which my elders sowed, its (/their) fruits ...”’
(From the story *Mapʰeer ke tʰam*)

3.4.4 *Adverbial Clauses*

Adverbial clauses such as “If (X), then (Y)”, “When (X), then (Y)”, “Since/Because (X), then (Y)”, etc., also employ a Relative-Correlative construction. Here too, *ke* is used as a conjunction. A schematic representation of a typical adverbial clause in SB is given in Figure 7.

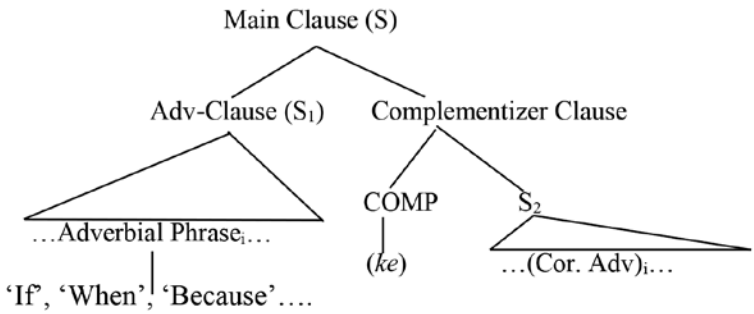


FIGURE 7 Structure of a typical adverbial clause

Note that the Adverbial Phrase may occur sentence-initially in the Adverbial Clause, but *ke*, when present, always occurs immediately before the embedded clause (the “Complementizer clause”). There may be an optional “correlative” adverbial phrase present in the embedded clause (designated as “Cor. Adv.” above). S_1 and S_2 are structurally similar. Consider the examples in (63) for illustration:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(63) "When (X).... then (Y)" clause: optional *ke*

a. *amit-ulu$_i$* *qarqaamučoo* *loi* *yeecimi*,[38]
amit-ulu$_i$ qarqaamučo-e loi-∅ i-yeec-imi,
which.[–H, II]-in hens-ERG fox-ABS 3MSG-see-PST.3SG
(*ke*) ∅$_i$ *os* *gusumiyo*
(ke) ∅$_i$ o-s gusumiyo
COMP ∅$_i$ 3PL-heart be. afraid-PAST.PL.[–H]
'When/As the hens/roosters saw the fox, (then) their hearts were afraid'

b. *ese* *amit-ulu$_i$* *ququruuču* *ečі*
es-e amit-ulu$_i$ ququruuču ečі
that.[–H, I]-ERG which.[–H, II]-in cock-a-doodle-doo do.IPFV
bim, (*ke*) *ǰaare* (*ete*
bim (ke) ǰaare (ete
be.PST.3SG.[–H, I] COMP 1SG-GEN-DAT (that.[–H, II]
vaxtulu)$_i$ *buṭ* *šua* *ɣayiči* *bim,*
vaxt-ulu)$_i$ buṭ šua ɣayiči bim,
time-in) very good feel.IPFV be.PAST.3SG.[–H, I]
'When it/that (rooster) used to crow, (at that time) I used to feel very good'

c. *amit-ulu* *giilt-ulu* *čʰaɣurum-e* *mausam* *ẓuçu*
amit-ulu giilt-ulu čʰaɣurum-e mausam ẓu-çu
which.[–H, II]-in Gilgit-in cold-GEN season come-IPFV
bim, (*ke*) (*ete* *vaxt-ulu*) *in* *daa*
bim, (ke) (ete vaxt-ulu) in daa
be.PST.3SG.[–H, I] COMP (that.[–H, II] time-in) 3SG again
vaapas *giilt-ulu* *ẓuçu* *bam*
vaapas giilt-ulu ẓu-çu bam
back Gilgit-in come-IPFV be.PST.3MSG
'When the winter times returned to Gilgit, he would come back to Gilgit'

38 Note that when the subject of a transitive clause is [–human], the default agreement (i.e., masculine singular) is used. It is yet to be seen whether this is a development leading to morphological simplification. Thus, we have *qarqaamučoo/qarqaamuce/hilase loi yeecimi* 'The hens/hen/boy saw the fox', *qarqaamučoo/qarqaamuce/hilase cʰil minimi* 'The hens/hen/boy drank water', but *hilešo loi yeecuman* 'The boys saw the fox', *hilešo cʰil minuman* 'The boys drank the water'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Here *ke* can be compared with Urdu-Hindi *to* 'then' in terms of its syntactic function.[39] Notice in (63) above, *amit-ulu* (lit. 'Rel.Pro.[−H, II]-in') is used as an adverbial of time meaning 'when' and the use of *ke* is optional. In the case of conditional causes, however, *ke* is not optional. Consider the examples in (64) where both *agar* 'if' and *tele* 'then' (</teele/) are optional and can be dropped, but *ke* "COMP" cannot be dropped.

(64) "If (X), then (Y)" clause (Conditional Clauses): *ke* is obligatory

a. *(agar) ume raq eta, (tele) ke cʰoordi mii*
(agar) ume raq eta, (tele) ke cʰoordi mii
if 2SG desire do.2SG, (then) COMP tomorrow 1PL
haale ničan
haale ničan
home.LOC go.IPFV.PL
'If you desire, (then) we will go home tomorrow'

b. *(agar) um aafis dukoya, (tele) ke ǰaa*
(agar) um-∅ aafis du-go-y-a, (tele) ke ǰa-e
if 2SG-ABS office *d*-2SG-come-2SG, (then) COMP 1SG-ERG
ume paalisii ečam
um-e paalisii eč-am
2SG-GEN policy do.IPFV-1SG
'If you come to the office, (then) I will do your (insurance) policy'

c. *ine(re) ǰaa qaw ne kʰole dicaa,*
in-e-re ǰaa qaw n-et kʰole dic-aa
3SG-GEN-DAT 1SG-ERG call PTCP-do here bring.3SG-1SG
ke adabe insaaniyate bar au
ke adab-e insaaniyat-e bar au
COMP etiquette-GEN humanity-GEN talk NEG
meyimi
may-umi
become.IPFV-3SG
'If I asked him to come here (instead of me going there), it will not be polite.'

39 Consider the following example from Hindi-Urdu:
ǰab voh gʰar aaya, (to) usne dekʰa ke maya vaha~ nahi tʰii
when he home came.MSG, then he.ERG saw that Maya there NEG was.FSG.
'When he came home, he found that Maya wasn't there.'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(Lit. 'If I brought him here having called him, then (it) is not a thing of etiquette, or humanity.')
(From the story *Map^{h}eer ke t^{h}am* 'The old man and the king')

It seems *tele* 'then' is a lexical borrowing from Kashmiri *teli* 'then' in SB. Its (optional) usage alongside *ke* in conditional clauses is very interesting.[40]

3.5 Non-Finite Clausal Constructions

A number of non-finite constructions are available in Burushaski, including:
- conjunctive participles (referred to as "converbs" in Tikkanen (1995) and as "Absolutiv" in Berger (1998)) expressed as *nu*-VERB-(*in*), employing a participial prefix *nu-* and (optionally) a suffix *-in* (both glossed as 'PTCP' in this study);[41]
- -(*u*)*m* participles (referred to as the "static participle" in Tikkanen (1995)), expressed as VERB-*um*, employing a nominalizing suffix -(*u*)*m* (glossed as 'NMLZ' in this study) added to the (underived/derived) verb stem; and
- infinitive participles, expressed as VERB-*as* (i.e., the verb plus an infinitival suffix -*a*(*a*)*s* ('INF')) along with a postposition xaa 'up to/until/after' and an optional conjunction *ke*.[42]

---

40 Consider the following examples from Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri for a comparison:

a. Hindi-Urdu
(*agar*) *tum* *bazaar* *gaye,* *to* *sabzi* *laanaa*
if you market go.PST.2SG, then vegetables bring.2SG.FUT.IMP
'If you go to the market, bring vegetables' (Lit. '(If) you went to the market, then bring vegetables')

b. Kashmiri
agar *ci* *baazar* *gook^{h}/gac^{h}ak^{h},* *teli* *anizi*
if you market go.PST.2MSG/FUT.2MSG, then bring.2SG.FUT.IMP
sabzi
vegetables
'If you go to the market, bring vegetables' (Lit. 'If you went/will go to the market, bring vegetables')

Note that the syntax of conditional clauses in Kashmiri is more complex than other neighboring languages (see Munshi & Bhat 2009).

41 It is worth noting here that the suffix seems obligatory on *d*-prefix verbs.

42 The postposition *xaa*, which which is a reduced form of *xaašiŋ*, is differentially translated as 'after', 'until' or 'up to' based on its usage in different contexts (e.g. *darvaaza xaa* 'until/up to the door', *baaḍare xaa* 'until/up to the border', *xuultu xaašiŋ* 'until now', but *hipultu xaa* 'after two days' (Lit. 'until two days').

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Structurally, the participial phrases are preposed in relation to the main clause. Consider the data in (65)–(67) for an illustration of the three types of non-finite constructions in SB and their structure:[43]

(65) Conjunctive participial constructions

a. [[*nosqul*], *ʒuçu* *baan*]
[[nu-o-squl], ʒu-çu baan]
PTCP-3PL-burn, come-IPFV be.PRES.PL
'Having burnt (them), they come (back).'

b. [[*yuuṭiŋ* *čuruk* *numan*], *diimi*]
[[i-uṭ-iŋ čuruk nu-man], dii-umi]
3MSG-leg-PL cut PTCP-exist/become come.3MSG-PST.3MSG
'His legs being cut, he came (back).'

c. [[*tei* *nusenin*], [*vaziire* *barere* *"ava"*
[[tei nu-sen-in] [vaziir-e bar-e-re "ava"
thus PTCP-speak-PTCP minister-GEN talk(n.)-GEN-DAT "yes"
au *nu-sen-in*] *nimi* *tʰam* *mapʰeere* *piči*][44]
au nu-sen-in] ni-umi tʰam mapʰeer-e piči]
NEG PTCP-speak-PTCP go-PST.3MSG king old.man-GEN near
'Having said so, not having said "yes" to the minister's words, the king went near the old man.'

(66) Participial constructions using the nominalizer *-um*

a. [*hiŋ* *ṭam* *manume* *kaaṭe*] *dasin* *ule* *herču*
[hiŋ ṭam man-um-e kaaṭe] dasin ule her-ču
door close become-NMLZ-GEN with girl inside cry-IPFV
bo
bo
be.PRES.3FSG
'(Along) with the door having been closed, the girl (the princess) cries inside.' (From the story of a princess; Munshi 2016)

43 See Chapter 5 for a closer look at the morphology of different verbs.

44 Note that *piči* varies with *pači*.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. [*senum* *kʰeene* (*ke*)] *mapʰeere* *pʰar* *ne* *senimi*
sen-um kʰeene ke mapʰeer-e pʰar n-e(t) sen-imi
say-NMLZ time only old man-ERG back PTCP-do say-PST.3SG
"ya *ǰuu,* *umere* *besen* *zaruurat*
ya ǰuu um-e-re besen zaruurat
VOC Sir 2SG-GEN-DAT what need

dila *ǰaacum* *kʰote* *bar*
dila ǰa-e-cum kʰote bar
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] 1SG-GEN-from this.[–H, II] talk (n.)
duɣarusase"
duɣarus-as-e
ask-INF-GEN
'At the time of saying (it), the old man, having turned back, said, "Well, Sir! What is the need to ask me such a thing?'

c. [*duɣaresum* *kʰeene* (*ke*)] *biiro* *sey* *bi …*
duɣares-um kʰeene ke biiro sey bi …
ask-NMLZ time only rooster say.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
'At the time of (its/the fox's) asking (something from the rooster), the rooster says….'
(From the story *Loy ke biiro* 'Fox and rooster')

(67) Participial constructions using *-as* 'INF'
a. [*yuyas* *xaa* *ke*] *es* *ke* *niyan*
[i-u-as xaa ke] es ke n-i-yan
3SG-give-INF until then that.[–H] also PTCP-3SG-take
ǰuuvan *netin* *tʰame* *iriŋaṭe*
ǰuu-an n-et-in tʰam-e i-riŋ-aṭe
thanks-SG.NDEF PTCP-do-PTCP king-GEN 3SG-hand-on
boozan *delimi*
booza-an del-imi
kiss-SG.NDEF hit-PST.3MSG
'After being given (the treasure/coins by the king), having taken it (coins), and having said his thanks, he (the old man) planted a kiss on the king's hand.'
(From the story *Mapʰeer ke tʰam* 'The old man and the king'; see Appendix)

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. [*senas xaa ke*] *tʰame senimi … senimi,*
[sen-as xaa ke] tʰam-e sen-imi … sen-imi
say-INF until COMP king-ERG say-PST.3MSG … say-PST.3MSG
“ava le, et guumi han
“ava le et gu-u-umi han
“yes VOC that.[–H, II] 2SG-give-3SG one.[–H, II]
meharbaaniyan baran gušam ke
meharbaani-an bar-an gu-š-am ke
kindness-SG.NDEF talk-SG.NDEF 2SG-say.IPFV-1SG DM
‘After saying so, the king said … he said, “Yes, dear, it gave you. I will tell you (of) a kindness, a story, DM”
(From the story *Mapʰeer ke tʰam* ‘An old man and a king’; see Appendix)

Notice in (66), in the case of the *-um* participial constructions, the participial phrase contains a nominal component (generally *kʰeene* ‘time’ or *kaaṭe* ‘with’) which follows the participial verb (note that *kaaṭe* ‘with’ is treated as a nominal because it assigns a Genitive case to the preceding nominal/gerund).

The participial constructions discussed above are more or less structurally parallel to similar non-finite constructions available in other areal languages.[45]

45 Compare the following examples from Hindi-Urdu:
a. [*kʰaana kʰaa-kar*] *voh so gaya*
food ear-PTPC 3SG sleep go.PST.3MSG
‘[Having eaten food], he slept.’

b. [*kʰaana kʰaate hi*] *voh so gaya*
[food eat(-finite) EMPH] 3SG sleep go.PST.3MSG
‘[While eating food], he slept’ (Or, ‘He slept soon after eating food’)

c. [*sote vaqt*] *voh gʰabra gaya*
[sleep (-finite) time] 3SG fear (v.) go.PAST.3MSG
‘While sleeping, he was scared’

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

CHAPTER 4

Nominals and Nominal Inflection

This chapter deals with the morphological components of the Noun Phrase. As in other dialects of Burushaski, noun inflection in SB is sensitive to noun class, possessability of nouns, as well as grammatical relations between the noun(s) and the verb in a clause. Modifiers and quantifiers are inflected for noun class and Number. There are, however, some dialectal variations, which are discussed in Chapter 7.

Nominals are traditionally classified into nouns and modifiers.[1] Modifiers generally include simple descriptive adjectives, numerals, and specifiers (such as demonstrative pronouns and relative pronouns). Of the various nominal elements, nouns and noun inflection are one of the most interesting and important areas of investigation. Burushaski nouns are categorized into different classes based on certain features. Such classification of nouns has implications on nominal as well as verbal morphology, as discussed in the following sections.

4.1 Nouns and Noun Classes

Nouns in Burushaski have traditionally been classified into four classes (see Berger 1998, Willson 1996, Lorimer 1935–38): hm (human male), hf (human female), x, and y. The distinction between the "x"- and "y"-class nouns is sometimes not very clear. According to Willson (1996: 8), nouns designated as "x" are non-human count nouns and those designated as "y" are mass nouns. This seems contradicted by the fact that many "y" nouns are countable and have plural forms (e.g. /ɣatenc̣: ɣataaŋ/ 'sword(s)' in HB). Furthermore, this classification does not include an important distinction between concrete and abstract nouns which is observed in the language and affects both noun and verb morphology. The classification provided in Berger (1998) follows Lorimer's (1935–38) account in which nouns designated as "x" include "animates and some inanimate objects", and nouns designated as "y" include "abstrata, liquids, and remaining non-living objects" (see Berger 1998, vol. 1: 33; Lorimer 1935–38, vol. 1: 14–26). This study uses a slightly modified terminology for

1 The term "nouns" is used here in its broad sense to include nouns as well as pronouns.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2019 | DOI:10.1163/9789004387898_005
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Burushaski noun classes. Based on the data from SB, I assume a four-way classification of nouns as shown in Figure 8.

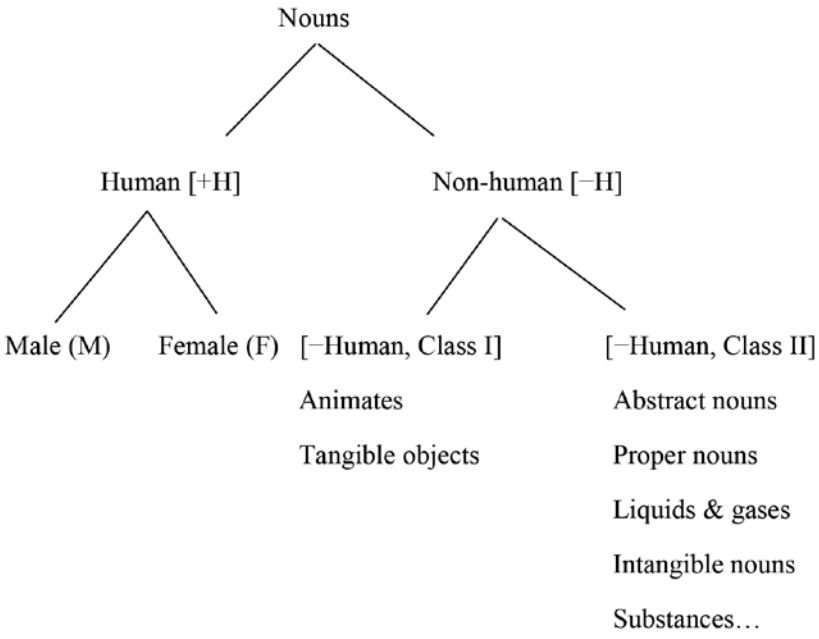


FIGURE 8 Classification of nouns

Thus, we have a broad distinction into human or [+H] and non-human or [–H] nouns. Human nouns are classified into human male (M) and human female (F). Among non-humans, we have [–Human, Class I] and [–Human, Class II] nouns (designated in the glosses as '[–H, I]' and '[–H, II]', respectively, in this study). Non-human Class I nouns include animate and inanimate countable nouns and solid definable substances. Under the noun class designated as [–Human, Class II] are names for intangible and amorphous substances or concepts, including abstract nouns, liquids and gaseous substances, proper names, and, sometimes amorphous solids. Thus, based on data in the present study, SB nouns are classified into four categories provided in (1):

(1) Classification of nouns
   i. Human masculine nouns (M)
   ii. Human feminine nouns (F)
   iii. Non-human concrete/definable nouns designated as [–H, I]
   iv. Abstract and/or amorphous nouns designated as [–H, II]

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Nouns conventionally designated as "mass" nouns generally fall under Class II for agreement purposes. Also, nouns for 'stone', 'apple', 'apricot', 'tree', etc. fall under Class II and may be treated as countable or mass nouns in different contexts (e.g., 'apple (count)' taking singular and plural forms, as opposed to 'apple (mass)' which cannot be pluralized and refers to 'apple fruit' in general). Class II nouns include liquids (e.g., *cʰil* 'water', *mamu* 'milk', etc.), amorphous solids (e.g., *bayu* 'salt'), abstract nouns (e.g., *xayaal* 'idea', *-saṭ* 'memory', etc.), proper names (e.g., names of individuals, place names, etc.), and so on. Amorphous solids, such as *bayu* 'salt', may fall under Class I or Class II depending on speakers' perception in terms of the semantic feature "formlessness/shapelessness" (e.g., 'a block of salt' versus '(powdered) salt').

Depending on the class features of the nouns/pronouns, various distinctions are observed in demonstrative as well as relative pronouns. Thus, demonstrative pronouns for human nouns are *kʰin* 'this'/*in* 'that' and *kʰu* 'these'/*u* 'those'. For [–H, I] nouns the corresponding forms are *kʰos*(*e*) 'this'/*es*(*e*) 'that' and *kʰoc*(*e*) 'these'/*ec*(*e*) 'those'. And for [–H, II] nouns the corresponding demonstrative pronouns are *kʰot*(*e*) 'this'/*et*(*e*) 'that' and *kʰok*(*e*) 'these'/*ek*(*e*) 'those'. Similar distinctions are also observed in the case of relative pronouns. Thus, we have relative pronouns *amin/menik, amis/amik*, and *amit/amic* for [+H], [–H, I], and [–H, II] singular/plural nouns, respectively.[2] Note that verb agreement is also sensitive to the class features of the nouns subcategorized by the verb. Class distinction is also expressed in verb inflection in terms of agreement with the subcategorized nouns (i.e., grammatical arguments). In verb agreement, however, not all distinctions are expressed. Data in (2)–(4) below present examples to illustrate specific noun-endings in relative pronouns and demonstratives for nouns belonging to the various classes and the class distinctions observed in the inflected verb (note: unless otherwise specified, the unmarked noun class is [+Human]):

(2) Relative pronouns and demonstratives for [+Human] nouns
  a. *kʰin/in* 'this/these'
    i. *kʰin/in* *dasin* *bo*
      this/that girl be.PRES.3FSG
      'This/She is (a/the) girl'

2 A list of demonstrative and relative pronouns is provided in Table 9.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii. *kʰuu/uu* *men-an* *e-sqan-uman?*
these/those-ERG who-SG.NDEF 3SG-kill-PST.PL
'Whom (human male) did these/those (people) kill?'

b. *amin/menik* 'which (Singular/Plural)'

i. *amin* *hiles* *sabuur* *kʰole* *dii* *bam*
which.SG boy yesterday here come.3MSG be.PST.3MSG
ke *in* *ǰaa* *ayi* *bai*
COMP 3SG 1SG.GEN 1SG.offspring be.PRES.3MSG
'The boy who had come here yesterday is my son'

ii. *kʰuu* *men-ik* *o-sqan-uman*
these-ERG who-PL.NDEF 3PL-kill-PST.PL
'Which people (humans) did these (people) kill?'

iii. *menik* *hilešu* *kamra-ulu* *baan* *ke* *u*
which.PL boys room-in be.PRES.PL COMP they
ǰaa *šugulu-muc* *baan*
1SG.GEN friend-PL be.PRES.PL
'The boys who are in the room are my friends'

(3) Relative pronouns and demonstratives for [–Human, Class I] nouns

a. *kʰos/kʰok* 'this/these'

i. *kʰos(e)* *bəyu*
this.[–H, I] salt
'this (block of) salt' (as opposed to the substance)

ii. *kʰos(e)* *loi* *amis* *bim* *ke*
this.[–H, I] fox which.[–H, I] be.PST.SG.[–H, I] COMP
es *mapʰeer* *bim*
3SG.[–H, I] old be.PAST.SG.[–H, I]
(Lit.) 'This fox who/which was (there), it was old'

iii. *kʰos / kʰoce* *məyun/məyuyo* *daltas*
this/these.[–H, I] pearl/pearls beautiful
bi / biyo
be.PRES.SG/PL.[–H, I]
'This pearl is beautiful/These pearls are beautiful.'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *amis/amic* 'which (Singular/Plural)

i. *amis* *ḍabaa* *meez-e* *yaare* *bi*
which.[−H, I] box table-GEN under be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
ke *es* *ǰaa* *bi*
COMP 3SG.[−H, I] 1SG.GEN be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
'The box which/that is under the table is mine'

ii. *amic* *keela-muc* *kʰaraṭi-ulu* *bi*
which. PL.[−H, I] banana-PL basket-in be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
ke *ec* *oɣasi* *biyo*
COMP 3PL.[−H, I] spoilt be.PRES.PL.[−H, I]
'The bananas that are in the basket are spoilt'

(4) Relative pronouns and demonstratives for [−Human, Class II] nouns:

a. *kʰot(e)/kʰok(e)* 'this/these'

i. *kʰot(e)/kʰok(e)* *baaṣ(-iŋ)*
this/these.[−H, I] language(-PL)
'this language/these languages'

ii. *um-e* *kʰot(e)* *bene* *et-uma?*
2SG-ERG this.[−H, II] how do-PST.2SG
'How did you do this ([−H, I] thing)?'

iii. *um-e* *kʰok(e)* *bene* *dusuma?*
2SG-ERG these.[−H, II] how bring.[−H, II].PST.2SG
'How did you bring these ([−H, II] things)?'

b. *ete/eke* 'that/those'

i. *ete* *diš* *mašhuur* *dila*
that.[−H, II] place famous be.PST.SG.[−H, II]
'That place was famous'

ii. *eke* *dišmiŋ* *mašhuur* *bicaŋ*
those.[−H, II] places famous be.PRES.PL.[−H, II]
'Those places are famous'

c. *amit/amik* 'which (Singular/Plural)'

i. *amit* *vaxt-ulu* *in* *diimi …*
which.[−H, II] time-in he come.PST.3MSG
'When/At the time that he came …'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii. *ǰaa* *map^{h}eer-išo* *amik* *tom-ičaŋ* *ee-gi*
1SG.GEN elder-PL which.[–H, II] tree-PL 3SG-plant
bam
be.PST
'The trees which my elders had planted …'

Note that in (2), (3) and (4) above, different pronouns and demonstratives are used for [+Human], [–Human, Class I], and [–Human, Class II] nouns.

Interestingly, there are some nouns which are expected to fall under the class [–H, I] but are treated as [–H, II] nouns by the speakers (e.g., *tom* 'tree', *kitaap* 'book', *gaṭu*(*-ŋ*) 'dress(es)', *ha* 'house', *mal* 'field'). Similarly, there are nouns which are expected to fall under [–H, II] noun class but are often treated like [–H, I] (e.g., *saw* 'sand'). Consider the examples in (5) for illustration:

(5) Some exceptions: *tom* 'tree', *kitaab* 'book', *saw* 'sand'

a. *um-e* *k^{h}ote/*k^{h}ose* *tom* *ee-gi-ṣu* *ba,*
2SG-ERG this.[–H, II]/*[–H, I] tree 3SG-plant-IPFV be.PRES.2SG,
daa *ke* *bes-ik,* *buuṭ-ik*
and COMP how. much-PL.NDEF, lot.of-PL.NDEF
ee-gi-ṣu *ba*
3SG-plant-IPFV be. PRES.2SG
'You are planting this tree, and then you are planting so many of these'
(From the story *Map^{h}eer ke t^{h}am* 'The old man and the king')

b. *k^{h}oke / *k^{h}oce* *tom-ičaŋ*
these.[–H, II] / *[–H, I] tree-PL
'these trees'

c. *k^{h}oke / *k^{h}oce* *kitaab-iŋ*[3]
these.[–H, II] / *[–H, I] book-PL
'these books'

d. *saḍak-e* *han* *pači* *t^{h}il-an* *saw*
road-GEN one side some-SG.NDEF sand
*bim / *dilum*
be.PST.SG.[–H, I] / *[–H, II]
'Some/A little sand was lying on one side of the road'

3 Both *kitaab* and *kitaap* are available in SB (cf. Urdu *kitaab*).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

e. *saḍak-e-ṭe* *buṭ-an* *saw* *dinc^{h}ir*
road-GEN-on lot-SG.NDEF sand scattered
*bim / *dila*
be.PST.SG.[–H, I] / *[–H, II]
'A lot of sand was scattered on the road'

Notice in (5) above, 'tree' and 'book' behave like [–H, II] nouns, while 'sand' is treated like a [–H, I] noun. There are also inter-speaker variations in which the class distinctions are often merged in favor of one or the other form, but the [–H, I] forms are predominantly used. This could be a change in progress.

4.2 Number

Nouns and noun phrases are marked by various endings for Number. A large number of plural-marking endings are found in Burushaski. Tiffou (1993) claims there are almost fifty such suffixes in Burushaski, although not as many are attested in the database for this study. The plural morphology is complex and the distribution of the different plural-forming suffixes is sometimes inconsistent. As is common in many languages, some nouns, such as words for fruits (e.g., 'apple', 'plum', 'apricot', 'pear', etc.), can be treated as both mass and count nouns in different contexts. When treated as count nouns they may take a zero morpheme as a plural marker while the Number agreement appears on the inflected verb.

Some of the very common plural marking suffixes used in SB are: *-vanc, -ikanc, -ainc, -nc, -aiŋ, -iŋo, -oŋo, -ŋo, -ičaŋ, -muc, -uc, -išu, -ayo, -yo, -o*. Many of these, however, are sets of allomorphs. A number of plural markers and their allomorphic variants are phonologically conditioned. Consider the examples in (6) for an illustration of the allomorphic variation of a plural-marking suffix *-muc*:

(6) Plural morpheme *-muc*

Singular	Plural	Gloss
ɣuruuru	ɣuruurumuc	'heron'
kuuto	kuutomuc	'bag'
k^{h}araṭi	k^{h}araṭimuc	'basket'
reḍiyo	reḍiyomuc	'radio' (English loan)
ǰiip	ǰiipuc	'jeep' (English loan)
harup	harupuc	'alphabet' (cf. Per./Ur. *harf*, K. *haruf*)

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Notice in (6) above/-muc/ surfaces as *-muc* when a stem ends in a vowel, and as *-uc* when it ends in a labial consonant. Thus, we have *ǰiip-uc* (not **ǰiip-muc*) 'jeeps' and *harup-uc* 'letters (of the alphabet)' (not **harup-muc*).

The plural ending -(*i*)*šu* occurs only in nouns whose singular form ends in a consonant, but not all nouns ending in a consonant form their plurals with this suffix. Consider the data in (7).

(7) Plural morpheme -(*i*)*šu*

Singular	Plural	Gloss
qalam	qalamišu	'pen'
baalt	baaltišu	'apple'
aam	aamišu	'mango'
hilas	hilašu	'boy'

There are some other cases which involve what appears to be the same plural ending with some variations. For example, *-čo ~ ǰo ~ -yo ~ -o* in (8) and (9) as follows:

(8) Plural morpheme *-čo ~ -ǰo*

Singular	Plural	Gloss
girkic	girkičo	'rat/mouse'
qarqaamuc	qarqaamučo	'hen'
ɣurkuc	ɣurkučo	'frog'
idumus	idumučo	'(his) knee'
tol	tolǰo	'snake'

(9) Plural morpheme *-o ~ -yo*(*k*)

Singular	Plural	Gloss
har	haro	'bull/ox'
heevaan	heevaayo	'animal' (cf. Ur. *haivaan*)
šahin	šahiyo	'royal falcon' (cf. Ur. *šaahiin*)
kʰapun	kʰapuyo	'spoon'
dan	dayo(k)[4]	'stone'

4 Perhaps via **dan-yu*(*-ik*).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Notice in (8) and (9) that the stem-final consonant does not surface in the plural form (except in *tolǰo* 'snakes'). Thus, *-c, -s*, and *-n* do not surface in the plural forms of *girkic* 'rat', *idumus* '(his) knee', and *heevaan* 'animal' (i.e., *girkičo, idumučo* and *heevaayo*, respectively) while final *-l* does in *tolǰo* 'snakes' (cf. *tol* 'snake'). Further, based on whether or not the stem-final consonant is a nasal, the surface form of the plural ending varies. Thus, we have a plural ending *-čo* (~ *-ǰo*) for stems with a final affricate or approximant, and an ending *-yo* in the case of stems ending in *-n* (note that *-ǰo* in *tolǰo* could be the result of a voice assimilation change). Some nouns ending in *-n*, which also seem to belong to this group, however, have plural forms ending in *-w*. Consider the examples in (10).

(10) Pluralization involving consonantal variation

Singular	Plural	Gloss
ç^{h}in	ç^{h}iw	'sparrow'
p^{h}in	p^{h}iw[5]	'fly (insect)'
sileẓin	sileẓiw	'girl/lady'

Compare the corresponding HB forms *ç^{h}iyo* 'sparrows' and *p^{h}iyo* 'flies'.

The variations in (8), (9) and (10) above are a result of (morpho-)phonological changes discussed at length in Chapter 2.

A frequently used plural marker in SB with various allomorphic forms is *-iŋ*, which alternates with *-iŋo* and *-oŋo*. The occurrence of *-iŋ* is restricted to consonant-final stems, but that of its allomorphs *-oŋo* and *-iŋo* does not seem to be very predictable. Consider the examples in (11) and (12) for illustration:

(11) *-iŋ* as plural-marking suffix

Singular	Plural	Gloss
asqur	asquriŋ	'flower'
kitaab	kitaabiŋ[6]	'book'
mal	maliŋ	'field'
trap	trapiŋ	'clap (n.)'
a-ndil	mi-ndiliŋ	'my chest/our chests'

5 Some speakers also use *p^{h}inišo* for the plural form of *p^{h}in* 'fly'.

6 Some speakers also use *kitaabišo* 'books'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(12) *-iŋo* or *-oŋo* as plural-marking suffixes

Singular	Plural	Gloss
pʰiṣo	pʰiṣoŋo	'mosquito'
buš	bušoŋo	'cat'
gus	gušiŋo	'woman'

Another set of frequently occurring plural endings, viz., *-vanc, -yanc, -iyanc, -ainc, -eenc, -anc,* -(*i*)*kanc*, etc., are argued to be allomorphs of a single underlying form containing a morpheme *-anc*; the latter could be claimed to be a syncopated form of -(*a*)*muc* with assimilation: /-mc/ > [-nc]. Consider the data in (13) as follows:

(13) Plural ending *-anc* and its variant forms

Singular	Plural	Gloss
sindiṣ	sindiyanc	'swan'
gus	gušiyanc	'woman'
dasin	dasiyanc/dasivanc	'girl'
du	duvanc	'young one (of a goat)'
ṭʰiṣ	ṭʰiṣanc	'mountain'
pʰul	pʰulainc/pʰuleenc	'cup'
muk	mukainc/mukeenc	'pearl'
hir	hirikanc	'man'

Notice the inter-speaker variations in words for 'girls', 'cups', and 'pearls' in (13) above. In some cases, such as *duvanc*'young one (of a goat)' (< /du + -anc/), a glide is epenthesized between vowels. A stem-final consonant is deleted in certain cases, such as, *dasiyanc/dasivanc* 'girls' (< /dasin+yanc/ or /dasin + -anc/; note that *dasivanc* may be a case of analogical change). Also note the *s* ~ *š* alternation in *gus* 'woman' versus *gušiyanc* 'women', where the plural ending seems to be *-yanc* or *-iyanc*. The plural ending *-ikanc* (in *hirikanc* 'men') seems to be an exception and is perhaps a combination of the indefinite plural suffix *-ik* and the plural marker *-anc*.

Another plural-marking suffix *-ičaŋ* is attested in a small number of words ending in nasal sounds. Consider the examples in (14).[7]

7 Compare HB *mausam/mausamičaŋ* 'weather (Singular/Plural)'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(14) Plural morpheme *-ičaŋ*

Singular	Plural	Gloss
i-riŋ	i-riŋičaŋ	'(his) hand'
piniŋ	piniŋičaŋ	'(lower part of) leg'
hiŋ	hiŋičaŋ	'door'
tom	tomičaŋ	'tree' (cf. HB *tomičan*)

There are some plural-marking suffixes which look like variations of one or more suffixes discussed above; regarding these no sensible generalizations can be made at this point. For instance, *huk/hukayo* 'dog (Singular/Plural)' and *yuuṭis*/*yuuṭiŋ* '(his) foot/leg (Singular/Plural)'. Furthermore, because so many different plural-marking suffixes are available to native speakers, both inter – and intra-speaker variation is observed. Often speakers are inconsistent and may disagree with each other on the use of "correct" plural endings for a given word. Thus, we have variants such as *bušoŋo~bušianc* 'cats' (cf. *buš* 'cat'), *gušiŋo~gušianc* 'women' (cf. *gus* 'woman'), *kanṭeišu~kanṭeimuc* 'kites (bird)' (cf. *kanṭei* 'kite'), and *dustakiŋ~dustakišu* 'pots' (cf. *dustak* 'pot').[8]

Some lexically specific plural-marking suffixes, such as *-caro, -kon*, and *-daro* (most likely used in groups of nouns, sort of collectively) are used only with certain kinship terms. For example: *bapo* 'grandfather'/*bapo-caro* 'grandfather and/or his brothers, etc.', *aço* 'my (same-sex) sibling'/*açu-kon* 'my (same sex) siblings', *muulus* 'her brother'/*muulus-daro* 'her brothers', etc. Similarly a unique plural marking suffix *-kurčuku* is used in the plural forms of adjectives *uyum* 'big (Singular)' and *ǰoṭ* 'small (Singular)' (i.e., *uyukurčuku* 'big (Plural)' and *ǰoṭukurčuku* 'small (Plural)', respectively).

4.3 Case

Three basic cases are discussed in this study with respect to SB. These are: Absolutive, Ergative, and Dative.

Absolutive case – the unmarked or null case – is expressed by a zero-morpheme (-∅). Consider the examples in (16) for illustration:

8 According to some native speakers of SB, *dustak* is used for both singular and plural forms while *dustakiŋ* or *dustakišu* is used to refer to 'different kinds of pots'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(16) Absolutive case: Null/Unmarked case

a. *ǰa*[9] *huruṭam*
ǰa-∅ huruṭ-am
1SG-ABS sit/stay-PST.1SG
'I sat/stayed'

b. *varziš* *ǰiye* *gane* *šua* *dila*
varziš-∅ ǰi-e gane šua dila
exercise-ABS life-GEN for good be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'Exercise is good for (one's) body/life'

c. *u* *čaɣaamiŋ* *ečan*
u-∅ čaɣaa-miŋ eč-an
3PL-ABS conversation-PL do.IPFV-PL
'They will talk' (Lit. 'They will do conversations')

d. *ma* *čaɣaamiŋ* *ečan*
ma-∅ čaɣaa-miŋ eč-an
2PL-ABS conversation-PL do.IPFV-PL
'You (PL) will talk' (Lit. 'You (PL) will do conversations')

Ergative case – the grammatical case borne by the most agent-like argument of a clause – is expressed by the addition of a suffix *-e* to the NP. Consider the examples in (17) for illustration:

(17) Ergative case ending

a. *ine* *ɣar* *eču* *bai*
in-e ɣar eču bai
3SG-ERG song do.IPFV be.PRES.3MSG
'He sings' (Lit. 'He does songs')

b. *hilase* *dasin* *muyeecimi*
hilas-e dasin-∅ mu-yeec-umi
boy-ERG girl-ABS 3FSG-see-PST.3MSG
'The boy saw the girl'

9 Note that *ǰa* often alternates with *ǰe*.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

In the case of nouns ending in a short vowel, the Ergative case is phonologically expressed by vowel lengthening. Consider the examples in (18):

(18) Ergative case: Nouns ending in short vowels

a. *ǰaa* *pʰiṭi* *ṣiyam*
ǰa-e pʰiṭi-∅ ṣi-am
1SG-ERG bread-ABS eat-PST.1SG
'I ate bread'

b. *mii* *pʰiṭi* *ṣiman*
mi-e pʰiṭi-∅ ši-uman
1PL-ERG bread-ABS eat-PST.PL
'We ate bread'

In the case of nouns ending in a long vowel, the Ergative case is phonologically expressed by a zero ending. In other words, the underlying *-e* 'Ergative-marking suffix' is deleted on the surface in words with a final long vowel. Consider the examples in (19) for illustration:

(19) Ergative case: Nouns ending in long vowels

a. *hasinaa* *pʰiṭi* *ṣimo*
hasinaa-e pʰiṭi-∅ ṣi-umo
Hasina-ERG bread-ABS eat-PST.3FSG
'Hasina ate bread'

b. *aasii* *pʰiṭi* *ṣimo*
aasii-e pʰiṭi-∅ ṣi-umo
Aasi-ERG bread-ABS eat-PST.3FSG
'Aasi ate bread'

Dative case – the grammatical case borne by Experiencer/Recipient/Goal arguments – is expressed by the addition of the Dative suffix *-re* to the Genitive (or Oblique) form of the NP, which is *-e* for all nouns except singular human female nouns, for which the Genitive ending is *-mo* (for more on Genitive or Oblique forms, see section 3.2.1 in Chapter 3; also see section 4.4 below). For illustration, consider the examples in (20):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(20) Dative case ending

a.	*ǰaare*	*tam*	*dila*
	ǰa-e-re	tam-∅	dila
	1SG-GEN-DAT	swimming-ABS	be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]

'I know how to swim' (Lit. 'To me swimming is')

b.	*ine*	*inmore*	*kitaaban*	*muč^{h}imo*
	in-e	in-mo-re	kitaab-an	mu-č^{h}i-umo
	3SG-ERG	3SG-GEN.F-DAT	book-SG.NDEF	3FSG-give-PST.3FSG

'She gave her a book'

4.4 Personal Pronouns

SB personal pronouns and their corresponding Personal Possessor Pronouns (or Possessive Adjectives) for [+human] nouns are listed in Table 6.

TABLE 6 Personal pronouns and personal possessor pronouns

		Personal pronoun		Possessor pronoun	
1	SG.	ǰa~ǰe	'I'	ǰaa	'my'
	PL.	mi	'we'	mii	'our'
2	SG.	um	'you'	ume	'your'
	PL.	ma	'you'	maa	'your'
3	SG.	in	'he/she'	ine	'his'
				inmo	'her'
	PL.	u	'they'	uu	'their'

Possession is marked by adding the possessor suffix (designated as "Genitive") to the possessor noun or pronoun. The possessor suffix for (pro)nouns ending in consonants is *-e*, and for (pro)nouns ending in vowels the suffix is represented by vowel lengthening (cf. SB *ǰi*(*y*)*e* 'of life' and not **ǰii*, which is probably an exception or evidence for a change in progress). This is true of both [+human] and [–human] nouns. Thus, the underlying form of the Genitive (Possessor) marking suffix is *-e*, which is phonologically identical with the Ergative case marker *-e*; the only exception is the Possessor or Genitive marking suffix for Third Person Singular human females, which is *-mo*. It is important to note that because of the existence of a different marker for the feminine possessor, the

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

two case markers, viz., Ergative and Genitive, cannot be identified with each other.

4.5 Possessability of Nouns

Burushaski makes a distinction between inherently possessed nouns and optionally possessed nouns. Possessability is related to the animacy of the possessor and is expressed by a personal pronominal prefix attached to the inherently possessed noun. For example, *gu-(y)ik* 'your-name', *a-(y)ik* 'my-name', *i-ḍim* 'his/its-body', and so on. Various pronominal prefixes in SB are listed in Table 7.

TABLE 7 Pronominal prefixes for inherently possessed nouns

		Pronominal prefix	Example
1	SG.	a-	a-čʰar 'my voice', a-(y)ik 'my name'
			a-ço 'my (same-sex) sibling'
	PL.	mi-, me-	mi-u 'our father', mi-mi 'our mother'
			me-ço 'our (same-sex) sibling'
2	SG.	gu-, go-	gu-u 'your father', gu-mi 'your mother'
			go-ço 'your (same-sex) sibling'
	PL.	ma-	ma-mi 'your (Pl.) mother'
3	MSG.	i-, e-, y-	i-mi 'his mother', e-ço 'his brother'
			yas 'his sister' (</i-yas/)
	FSG.	mu-, mo-	mu-mi 'her mother', mo-ço 'her sister'
	PL.	u-, o-	u-mi 'their mother', o-ço 'their (same-sex) sibling'

Based on data from SB, there are various classes of inherently possessed nouns in the language which include: body parts, kinship terms, personal belongings (such as '(X's) name', '(X's) voice', '(X's) bed', '(X's) pillow', etc.), and things or concepts closely related/affiliated/associated with humans (e.g., '(X's) memory', '(X's) imagination', etc.).

4.5.1 *Body Parts*

As a general rule, body parts are inherently possessed in all dialects of Burushaski. Names of most body parts have obligatory pronominal prefixes. For example, SB *-xat* 'mouth', *-ul* 'stomach', *-ndil* 'chest', *-s* 'heart', *-ṣ* 'neck',

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

-ltumal 'ear', *-uṭis/-uṭiŋ* 'foot/feet (leg/legs)', *-ṣçiŋ* 'back', *-ḍim* 'body', and so on. Paradigms for SB words for 'chest' and 'feet' are presented in (21) and (22) as follows:

(21) SB word forms for 'chest'

Word	Gloss
a-ndil[10]	'my chest'
mi-ndil-iŋ	'our chests'
gu-ndil	'your chest' (Possessor Singular)
ma-ndil-iŋ	'your chests' (Possessor Plural)
mu-ndil	'her chest'
i-ndil	'his chest'
u-ndil-iŋ	'their chests'

(22) SB word forms for 'foot/leg'

Word	Gloss
a-uṭis[11]	'my foot/leg'
a-uṭiŋ	'my feet/legs'
mi-uṭiŋ	'our feet/legs'
gu-uṭiŋ	'your feet/legs' (Possessor Singular)
ma-uṭiŋ	'your feet/legs' (Possessor Plural)
mu-uṭiŋ	'her feet/legs'
yu-uṭiŋ (< /i-uṭiŋ/)	'his feet/legs'
u-uṭiŋ	'their feet/legs'

10 Note that *-ndil* is also used as an euphemism for 'breast' in polite speech. For 'chests' in the case of non-humans (e.g., animals or birds), *i-ndilišu* 'their chests' is perhaps used in the plural form. Although semantically absurd, in a figurative form, words like 'our heart', with the possessed noun as singular and the possessor as plural, are also possible. For example, *me-s-ainc* means 'our hearts' while *me-s* is 'our heart', *ma-s* 'your (Pl.) heart' and *ma-s-ainc* 'your (Pl.) hearts'.

11 Compare HB *ooṭis* 'my foot'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Not all body parts are inherently possessed, however. Thus, names for some body parts are free morphemes and occur independently, as against the above cases where the morphemes are bound and necessarily occur with the pronominal possessive markers. These are presumably borrowed from other languages, which would explain the deviation from the norm.[12] Consider the examples in (23):

(23) Words for body parts without pronominal prefixes

Word	Gloss
bac^{h}in	'thigh'
piniŋ	'(lower) leg'
čuču	'breast'
ẓuk	'kidney'
buk	'throat'
gapal	'(fore)head'

Note that words for 'breast' and 'forehead' in (23) above are of Indo-Aryan origin (cf. *čuču* 'breast' and *gapal* 'head' in Shina). The origin of other words in the list is not known to the author. It is possible that all of these are borrowings.

4.5.2 *Kinship Terms*

Like body parts, nouns for close kinship terms are also inherently possessed.[13] Thus, nouns such as *-ẓo* '(same-sex) sibling', *-yas* 'sister (of a male)', *-ulus* 'brother (of a female)', *-yi* 'offspring (son/daughter)', *-mi* 'mother', *-u* 'father', etc. are inherently possessed and are preceded by pronominal prefixes for the possessor. Consider the paradigms for the SB words for 'sibling' and 'offspring' in (24) and (25):

12 There are also dialectal variations in that the Yasin dialect may have bare nouns where the other dialects have pronominal prefixes in the corresponding forms.

13 Note that kinship titles or address terms in Burushaski should not be confused for the basic kinship terms. While the latter are inherently possessed, the address terms and titles are not.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(24) SB word forms for 'sibling'

Singular	Plural	Gloss
e-ẹo	e-ẹu-kon	'his brother(s)'
mo-ẹo	mo-ẹu-kon	'her sister(s)'
go-ẹo	go-ẹu-kon	'your (same sex) sibling(s)'
mu-ulus	mu-ulus-daro	'her brother(s)'
a-ulus	a-ulus-daro	'my brother(s)' (when possessor is feminine)
gu-ulus	gu-ulus-daro	'your(Sg.) brother(s)' (when possessor is feminine)
a-yas	a-yas-daro	'my sister(s)' (when possessor is masculine)
yas (</i-yas/)[14]	yas-daro	'his sister(s)'

(25) SB word forms for 'offspring'

Word	Gloss
a-yi	'my offspring'
gu-yi	'your offspring'
i-yi	'his offspring'
mu-yi	'her offspring'
me-yi	'your (possessor plural) offspring' (< /ma-yi/)
u-yi	'their offspring'

Notice in (24) above that the plural markers on kinship terms are: *-kon* when the stem is *-ẹo* 'sibling (of the same gender as the possessor)', and *-daro* when it is *-ulus* 'brother (of a female)' or *-yas* 'sister (of a male)'.

Inherently possessed nouns may also be preceded by optional possessor pronouns (i.e. pronouns in the Genitive form). Consider the data in (26) for illustration:

14 Note that the initial palatal vowel *i-* for '3MSG' is deleted before *y* in this case.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(26) Optional possessor pronouns preceding inherently possessed nouns

Word/Phrase	Gloss
(ǰaa) a-u	'(my) 1SG-father' or 'my father'
(mii) mi-u	'(our) 2PL-father' or 'our father'
(ume) gu-u	'(your) 2SG-father' or 'your father'
(inmo) mu-u	'(her) 3FSG-father' or 'her father'
(ine) i-u	'(his) 3MSG-father' or 'his father'
(ǰaa) a-ulus	'(my) 1SG-brother' or 'my brother' (when possessor is feminine)
(ume) gu-ulus	'(your) 2SG-brother' (when possessor is feminine)

Note that there are some kinship terms used in SB which do not take pronominal prefixes. For instance, *daado* 'grandfather' and *api* 'grandmother', which are likely of Indo-Aryan origin.

4.5.3 *Other Inherently Possessed Nouns*

Some other inherently possessed nouns are *-čʰar* 'voice', *-saṭ* 'memory', *-noošk*i 'pillow' (probably a variant of *-nooṣki*; cf. HB *-nooṣki*), etc. Consider the data in (27) for illustration:

(27) Other inherently possessed nouns:

Word	Gloss
a-čʰar	'my voice'
i-čʰar	'his voice'
a-saṭ	'my memory'
go-saṭ	'your memory'
i-nooški	'his pillow'
u-nooški	'their pillow'
i-moos	'his anger'
a-moos	'my anger'

4.6 Modifiers

Modifiers, such as, specifiers, adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers, precede the head noun in Burushaski. Some modifiers possess certain endings specifying features such as Noun Class, etc.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

4.6.1 *Adjectives*

Adjectives always precede the modified noun in Burushaski. Most adjectives are bare, i.e. without inflectional endings. Thus, there is no agreement with the noun with respect to Number, Gender, or class features. Consider the examples from SB in (28):

(28) Adjectives not inflected for Number or other features

Singular	Plural	Gloss
šua sis	šua sisik	'good man/men'
šua diš	šua dišmiŋ	'beautiful place(s)'
daltas gus	daltas gušianc	'beautiful woman/women'
ɣunaqiṣ hiles	ɣunaqiṣ hilešu	'bad boy(s)'
matum gaṭu	matum gaṭoŋ	'black dress(es)'

A small number of adjectives, however, are inflected for Number. Consider the examples in (29) for illustration:

(29) Adjectives inflected for Number

Singular	Plural	Gloss
uyum sanduuq	uyukurčuku sanduuqišu	'big box(es)/ container(s)'
uyum ḍaba	uyukurčuku ḍabamuc	'big box(es)'
ǰoṭ ḍaba	ǰoṭukurčuku ḍabamuc	'small box(es)'

Thus, in (29) above, plural forms of the adjectives *uyum* 'big' and *joṭ* 'small' add a suffix *-ukurčuku*. Notice in the case of *uykurčuku* 'big (pl.)', the final *-um* of *uyum* 'big (sg.)' does not surface in the plural form (note that *-um* is a common adjective-forming or adnominalizing suffix in Burushaski).

4.6.2 *Numerals*

Like other modifiers, numerals precede the head noun. Numerals may possess a distinct class ending or suffix based on the class features of the modified noun. Such a distinction is only observed in the first few numerals. Some of these endings correspond with pronominal endings used to designate class features in pronouns. Table 8 lists the SB numerals from 'one' to 'ten' showing class-distinction where applicable:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

TABLE 8 Numerals based on different noun classes

Numeral	[+H]	[−H, I]	[−H, II]
1	hin	han	hik
2	altan	altac/alta	alto
3	isken (cf. NB iske, HB isken)	usko	iski
4	valto		valti
5	c^{h}undo		c^{h}indi
6	mišindo		mišindi
7	t^{h}alo		t^{h}ale (cf. HB t^{h}ali)
8	altambo (cf. NB alt^{h}ambo)		altambi
9	hunčo		hunți
10	toormo (cf. HB/NB toorumo)		toormi (cf. HB/NB toorimi)

Paradigms for numerals 'one', 'two', 'three', and 'four', modifying words for different noun classes are given in (30) as follows:

(30) Paradigms for numerals 'one' to 'four'

a. 'one X'

hin hiles	'one boy'	[+H]
han baalt	'one apple'	[−H, I]
hik gunc	'one day'[15]	[−H, II]
hik sa	'one month'	[−H, II]

b. 'two Xs'

altan hilešu	'two boys'
altac baaltišu	'two apples'
altu gunc	'two days'[16]

15 Note that in *han gunc*, the modifier *han* is translated as 'one day'. It is possible that the suffix -(*a*)*n* used as indefinite article is derived from *han*.

16 A commonly used term *altul* refers to 'two days' (portmanteau).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. 'three Xs'

isken hilešu	'three boys'
usko baaltišu	'three apples'
iski kuc[17]	'three days'

d. 'four Xs'

valto hilešu	'four boys'
valti den	'four years'
val~valti kuc[18]	'four days'

Note that the numeral system in Burushaski is vigesimal (i.e., based on the number 'twenty') and continues as: *turma-han* 'eleven', *turma-alto*/*altac* (~*turmalto*/*turmaltac*) 'twelve', *turma-usko/iski* 'thirteen', *turma-valto/valti* 'fourteen', and so on in SB. The word for the number 'twenty' in SB is *alt^{h}ar*. The numbers continue on the same pattern as: *alt^{h}ar-han* 'twenty-one', *alt^{h}ar-alto*/*altac* 'twenty-two', *alt^{h}ar-usko/iski* 'twenty-three', *turma-valto/valti* 'twenty-four', and so on. Number 'thirty' is *alt^{h}ar-toormo* (lit. 'twenty-ten' or '20+10'), 'forty' is *alto-alt^{h}ar* (lit. 'two-twenty' or 'two times twenty'), and so on. The word for 'hundred' is *t^{h}a*, and the words for larger numeral units are generally borrowed, such as *saas* or *hazaar* for '1000', *laak^h* for '100,000' and so on (cf. Urdu/Persian *hazaar* and Kashmiri *saas* for '1000', and Hindi-Urdu *laakh* for '100,000').

4.6.3 *Demonstratives and Relative Pronouns*

Based on the class features of the head noun, demonstratives and relative pronouns take different endings. Table 9 provides paradigms for singular and plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns 'this', 'that', and the relative pronoun 'which' with respect to different noun classes as they appear in SB (see Section 4.1. for demonstrative and relative pronouns):

17 Note that *kuc* 'day' is an allomorph of *gunc*. Its usage is restricted to certain phrases (e.g., combining forms with numerals in the specifier position).

18 Since its occurrence is very restricted, it is not clear whether *kuc* is a suffix or an independent word.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

TABLE 9 Demonstratives and relative pronouns

[+Human]		[–Human, Class I]		[–Human, Class II]	
Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
-n(e)	***-∅, -k(e)***	***-s(e)***	***-c(e)***	***-t(e)***	***-k(e)***
kʰin(e)	*kʰu*	*kʰos(e)*	*kʰoc(e)*	*kʰot(e)*	*kʰok(e)*
'this'	'these'	'this'	'these'	'this'	'these'
in(e)	*u*	*es(e)*	*ec(e)*	*et(e)*	*ek(e)*
'he/she'	'they'	'that'	'those'	'that'	'these'
amin	*amik*	*amis*	*amic*	*amit*	*amik*
'which'	'which'	'which'	'which'	'which'	'which'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

CHAPTER 5

Verb Morphology

Verb inflection in Burushaski is sensitive to the argument structure and class features of the arguments, as well as Tense and Aspect features. Agreement features appear in the form of prefixes and suffixes (as discussed in Chapter 3: Morpho-syntax). These are sensitive to Person, Number and Gender features as well as features for Noun Class. Both Subject and Object agreement features may appear on the verb based on semantic and syntactic aspects of the verb.

5.1 Morphology of the Verb Component

The verb component in Burushaski may be composed of a simple verb (main verb), or a complex/compound verb. The latter is composed of a main verb plus an auxiliary verb, or a noun-plus-verb complex. This is consistent with the areal typology of the language. Verbs such as *guc^{h}ar-* 'walk', *gaarc-* 'run', *sen-* 'say/read', *baren-* 'watch/look' are simple verbs and behave as main verbs. Verbs such as *et-* 'do', *-man*(*a*)- 'exist/be/happen', as well as *bV-*/*dil-* 'be [–H, I]/[–H, II]' may behave like main verbs or auxiliary verbs. Verbs such as 'work' (*doro etas* = 'work (n.) + do'), 'stand' (*daal etas* = 'upright + do'), 'speak/talk' (*čaɣa etas* = 'story/talk (n.) + do'), and 'cut' (*čuruk etas* = 'cut (n.) + do/make') are examples of compound verbs containing a noun plus verb complex in each case.

The verb has more than one stem-form. Based on data from SB, the verb can be argued to have the following two stem forms:

(i) The base stem or "root" used in the Infinitive form; all infinitive forms use *-as* (~ *-aas*) as the infinitive-marking suffix. This stem is used for actions which are completed. These include: Simple Past, Present Perfect, and Past Perfect, etc.

(ii) The derived stem, used for actions not completed. This includes Present/Past Habitual, Present/Past Continuous, and Future Tense. The derived stem is formed by adding the suffix *-č* (or sometimes *-y*) to the root.

Most of the verbs have regular inflectional paradigms. SB stems for some common verbs, such as 'do', 'become', 'walk', 'eat', 'run', 'dance', 'write', 'listen', 'go', and 'come' are given in Table 10.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2019 | DOI:10.1163/9789004387898_006
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

TABLE 10 Verb stems

Base stem	Derived stem	Gloss
et-	eč-	'do'
man-	may-	'become, exist'
guc^{h}ar-	guc^{h}arč-	'walk'
ṣi-	ṣiç-	'eat'
gaarc-	gaarš-	'run'
girat-	giraš-	'dance, play'
girmin-	girmiy-	'write'
dV-yal-[1]	dV-yalǰ-	'listen'
ni-	nič-	'go'
ẓu-	ẓuç-	'come'

Notice that the derived stem may involve further phonological changes depending on whether the root ends in a consonant or a vowel, leading to variations across different verbs (see Section 2.4.1). Also note that the base stem for the verb *ẓu-* 'come' only occurs in the infinitive and imperative forms; it does not occur in the Present Perfect, Past Perfect, and Simple Past forms, the corresponding forms being derived instead from what appears to be a zero stem with a *d*-prefix. Thus, we have: *daayam* 'I came', *dukooma* 'you came', *diimi* 'he came', *dumoomo* 'she came', *duuman* 'they came', but *ẓuyas* 'to come (Infinitive); coming (gerund)', (cf. HB *ẓuwas*), *ẓuçu bai* '(he) comes/is coming', *ẓuçu baan* '(they/we/you (Pl.)) come/are coming'. The perfective forms show stem suppletion with respect to person and number, the only common element being the initial consonant *d*. While the latter manifestly do have different stems (e.g., *daa-, dukoo-, dii-, dumoo-, duu-*, etc.), it is not clear what the root is. A historical change yet to be explained may have resulted in these variant forms. Further investigation in this area is required for a better understanding of their development.

Paradigms for verbs *et-* 'work' and *gaarc-* 'run' are provided in (1) and (2) as follows (see section 3.1.2 for the structure and typology of the verb component):

1 This belongs to the class of *d*-prefix verbs. See section 5.3 for formal details.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(1) Paradigm for verb *doro et-* 'work' (Lit. 'work + do')

a. Simple Past: 'x worked' or 'x did the work'

Singular	1	ǰaa	doro	etam
	2	ume	doro	etuma
	3M	ine	doro	etimi
	3F	ine	doro	etumo
Plural	1	mii	doro	etuman
	2	maa	doro	etuman
	3	uu	doro	etuman

b. Past Perfect: 'x had worked'

Singular	1	ǰaa	doro	eta	bam (cf. HB bayam)
	2	ume	doro	etu	bam
	3M	ine	doro	etu	bam
	3F	ine	doro	etu	bom
Plural	1	mii	doro	etu	bam
	2	maa	doro	etu	bam
	3	uu	doro	etu	bam

c. Present Habitual: 'x works'

Singular	1	ǰaa	doro	eča	ba
	2	ume	doro	eču	ba
	3M	ine	doro	eču	bai
	3F	ine	doro	eču	bo
Plural	1	mii	doro	eču	baan
	2	maa	doro	eču	baan
	3	uu	doro	eču	baan

d. Past Habitual: 'x used to work'

Singular	1	ǰaa	doro	eča	bam (cf. HB bayam)
	2	ume	doro	eču	bam
	3M	ine	doro	eču	bam
	3F	ine	doro	eču	bom

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Plural	1	mii	doro	eču	bam
	2	maa	doro	eču	bam
	3	uu	doro	eču	bam

e. Past Progressive/Continuous: 'X was working' (also 'X was in the state of working')[2]

Singular	1	ǰaa	doro	eču	mane	bam
	2	ume	doro	eču	mane	bam
	3M	ine	doro	eču	mane	bam
	3F	ine	doro	eču	mane	bom
Plural	1	mii	doro	eču	mane	bam
	2	maa	doro	eču	mane	bam
	3	uu	doro	eču	mane	bam

f. Future: 'X will work'

Singular	1	ǰaa	doro	ečam
	2	ume	doro	ečuma
	3M	ine	doro	eči
	3F	ine	doro	ečo
Plural	1	mii	doro	ečan
	2	maa	doro	ečuman
	3	uu	doro	ečuman

(2) Paradigm for verb 'run':

a. Simple Past: 'X ran'

Singular	1	ǰa	gaarcam
	2	um	gaarcuma
	3M	in	gaarcimi
	3F	in	gaarcumo
	3.[−H, I]	es	gaarcimi (i.e., 'it (animate noun) ran')

2 Consider the following example:

ǰa	*guc^{h}arču*	*mane*	*niča*	*bam.*
1SG-ABS	walk.IPFV	become	go.IPFV.1SG	be.PST.1SG.

'I go (while) walking' (= 'I go on foot').

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Plural	1	mi	gaarcuman
	2	ma	gaarcuman
	3	u	gaarcuman

b. Past Perfect: 'X had run'

Singular	1	ǰa	gaarca	bam
	2	um	gaarcu	bam
	3M	in	gaarcu	bam
	3F	in	gaarcu	bom
Plural	1	mi	gaarcu	bam
	2	ma	gaarcu	bam
	3	u	gaarcu	bam

c. Present Habitual: 'X runs'

Singular	1	ǰa	gaarša	ba
	2	um	gaaršu	ba
	3M	in	gaaršu	bai
	3F	in	gaaršu	bo
	3.[–H, I]	es	gaarši	bi (i.e., 'it (animate noun) runs')
Plural	1	mi	gaaršu	baan
	2	ma	gaaršu	baan
	3	u	gaaršu	baan

d. Past Habitual: 'X used to run'

Singular	1	ǰa	gaarša	bam
	2	um	gaaršu	bam
	3M	in	gaaršu	bam
	3F	in	gaaršu	bom
	3.[–H, I]	es	gaarši	bim (i.e., 'it (animate noun) used to run')
Plural	1	mi	gaaršu	bam
	2	ma	gaaršu	bam
	3	u	gaaršu	bam

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

e. Past Progressive/Continuous: 'X was running' (Also 'X was in the state of running')[3]

Singular	1	ǰa	gaaršu	mane	bam
	2	ume	gaaršu	mane	bam
	3M	in	gaaršu	mane	bam
	3F	in	gaaršu	mane	bom
Plural	1	mi	gaaršu	mane	bam
	2	ma	gaaršu	mane	bam
	3	u	gaaršu	mane	bam

f. Future: 'X will run'

Singular	1	ǰa	gaaršam
	2	ume	gaaršuma
	3M	in	gaarši
	3F	in	gaaršo
	3.[−H, II]	es	gaarši (i.e., 'it (animate noun) will run')
Plural	1	mi	gaaršan
	2	ma	gaaršuman
	3	u	gaaršuman

Notice in the data in (1) and (2) above, the auxiliary verb (AUX) 'be' is used along with the main verb in the Past Perfect, the Present/Past Habitual, as well as the Present/Past Progressive aspects. It is also used in the Present Perfect and the Present Progressive/Continuous forms (not shown above). Further, Progressive/Continuous aspect is expressed by the addition of the light verb *mane* (< *man-* 'become/exist') after the main verb; *mane* is often phonologically reduced (and cliticized) onto the preceding main verb. Thus, *gaaršu mane bam* varies with *gaaršume bam* 'was running'. Note that in the Hunza dialect of Burushaski (HB) only the reduced forms are attested.

3 Note that Progressive verbs are complex and are formed by adding *man-* 'exist' to the main verb.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

5.2 Morphology of the Verb 'Be'

The stem of the verb 'be' in SB is some form of *bV-* or *dil-* (Present Tense stems), depending on the class features of the NP argument. For nouns belonging to [–Human, Class I], the base of the auxiliary verb is *bV-* 'be; [–H, I]' and for [–Human, Class II] nouns it is *dil-* 'be; [–H, II]'.[4] Table 11 presents the paradigm for Present and Past Tense forms of SB verb 'be' in terms of different noun classes with which the verb agreement is observed:

TABLE 11 Present and past tense forms for the verb 'to be'

(a) Verb 'be' with [+Human] NP

	1SG	2 SG	3 MSG	3 FSG	1/2/3 PL
Present	ba	ba	bai	bo	baan
Past	bam	bam	bam	bom	bam

(b) Verb 'be' with [–Human] NP

	Class I		Class II	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Present	bi	biyo	dila	bicaŋ
Past	bim	biyom	dilum	bicum

Examples in (3) illustrate different forms of verb 'be' when the verb agrees with a [+Human] NP:

4 This distinction is not expressed in the negatives for non-human nouns. Thus, we have *api* 'be. PRES.SG.[–H]' in both these classes.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(3) Morphology of the verb 'be': agreement with [+human] NPs

a. *ǰe/um*$_{\text{i}}$ (*hin*) *hilas-an* *ba*$_{\text{i}}$
1/2SG (one.[+H]) boy-SG.NDEF be.PRES.1/2SG
'I/You am/are (a) boy'

b. *ǰe/um*$_i$ (*hin*) *dasin-an* *ba*$_i$
1/2SG (one) girl-SG.NDEF be.PRES.1/2SG
'I/You am/are (a) girl'

c. *mi/ma/u*$_i$ *šua* *sis* *baan*$_i$
1/2/3PL good people be.PRES.PL
'We/You/They are good people'

d. *in*$_i$ (*hin*) *ooɣatanas-an* *bai*$_i$
3SG (one) teacher-SG.NDEF be.PRES.3MSG
'He is (a) teacher'

e. *in*$_i$ (*hin*) *ooɣatanas-an* *bo*$_i$
3SG (one) teacher-SG.NDEF be.PRES.3FSG
'She is (a) teacher'

Examples in (4) and (5) illustrate different forms of verb 'be' when the verb agrees with a [–Human] NP belonging to Class I or Class II:

(4) Morphology of the verb 'be': agreement with [–Human, Class I] NPs

a. *amis*$_i$ *ḍaba*$_i$ *meez-e* *yaare* *bi*
which.SG.[–H, I] box table-GEN under be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
ke *es* *ǰaa* *bi*$_i$
COMP 3SG.[–H, I] 1SG.GEN be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
'The box which/that is under the table is mine'

b. *sey* *baan* *han*$_i$ *loy-an*$_i$
say.IPFV be.PRES.3PL.[+H] one.[–H, I] fox-SG.NDEF
bim$_i$
be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
'Once upon a time, there was a fox'

c. *et* *cum* *iciiṭe* *alta* *ç*^{h}*iṣ-anc*$_i$ *biyo*$_i$
that.[–H, II] from after two mountain-PL be.PRES.3PL.[–H, I]
'(And) then, there were (these) two mountains (there)'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

d. *amic$_i$* *ke* *sanduq-išo$_i$* *ele* *biyom$_{i,}$*
which.PL.[–H, I] COMP box-PL there be.PST.3PL.[–H, I],
ke *oyoon* *čuunii* *biyom$_i$*
COMP all wood.GEN be.PAST.3PL.[–H, I]
'All/whichever boxes were there were made of wood'

e. *saḍak-e* *han* *pači* *t^{h}ilan* *saw$_i$* *dinc^{h}ir* *bim$_i$*[5]
road-GEN one side some sand scattered be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
'Some/A little sand was lying scattered on one side of the road'

(5) Morphology of the verb 'be': agreement with [–Human, Class II] NPs

a. *um-e* *gu-ik$_i$* *besan* *dila$_i$?*
2SG-GEN 2SG-name.[–H, II] what be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'What is your name?'

b. *in-e* *i-ik$_i$* *besan* *dilum$_i$?*
3SG-GEN 3SG-name.[–H, II] what be.PST.3SG.[–H, II]
'What was his name?'

c. *et-e* *alaava* *ǰoṭruko-ǰoṭruko* *diš-miŋ$_i$*
this.[–H, II]-GEN apart small-RED place-PL.[–H, II]
bicaŋ$_i$
be.PRES.3PL.[–H, II]
'Apart from this, (there) are many small places'

d. *buṭpa* *lafz-iŋ$_{i,}$* *balki* *murakab* *lafz-iŋ$_{i,}$* *xaaskar*
many word-PL, rather compound word-PL, especially
faarsi *bicaŋ$_i$*
Persian be.PRES.3PL.[–H, II]
'Many words, rather compound words, especially, are Persian'

e. *oyoon* *čiiz-iŋ$_i$* *in-e-re,* *e-s-e-ṭe*
all thing-PL 3MSG-GEN-DAT 3MSG-heart-GEN-on
bicum$_i$
be.PST.PL.[–H, II]
'All things were in his heart/memory' (= 'He remembered everything')

5 Note that there is inter-speaker varation in terms of treating *saw* 'sand' as a noun of Class I or Class II.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

This kind of class agreement distinction for [–Human] nouns seems to have been lost in complex/compound verbs containing a main verb and an auxiliary verb. Thus, in the case of compound verbs consisting of a main verb followed by verb 'be', the latter is almost always represented by a (default) *bV*-form irrespective of the class of the qualified noun instead of the *dil*-form otherwise expected with intangible nouns belonging to class [–H, II] such as 'name', 'thunderstorm', 'wind', etc. Consider the examples in (6) for illustration:

(6) Morphology of verb 'be' in compound verbs

a. *in* *hilas-e* *i-ik$_i$* *may* *bi$_i$ / *dila$_i$*
3SG boy-GEN 3MSG-name.[–H, II] exist.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H]
kanaan
Kanaan
'That boy's name happens to be Kanaan'

b. *ete* *vaxt-ulu=ii* *tiṣ$_i$* *ʒuɕu* *bim$_i$ / *dilum$_i$*
that time-in=EMPH wind.[–H, II] come.IPFV be.PST.3SG.[–H]
ɣada-ɣadaŋ$_i$ *may* *bim$_i$ / *dilum*
thunderstorm [–H, II] exist.IPFV be.PAST.3SG. [–H]
'At that time, there used to be wind, there used to be thunderstorm'
(Lit. 'Right at that time, wind used to come, thunderstorm(s) used to happen')

c. *hikultu* *te=ii$_i$* *may* *bi$_i$ / *dila $_i$*
once such.[–H, II]=EMPH happen.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H]
buṭar-an *ṣim* *k^{h}eene* *ke* *in-e-re*
goat-SG.NDEF eat.NMLZ time COMP 3SG-GEN-DAT
buṭ *maza* *ʒuɕu* *bi / *dila*
much taste.[–H, II] come. IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H]
'Once, what happens, after having eaten a goat, he finds it very tasty'

However, when the complement of the verb 'be' is a verb in the Infinitive form, the *dil-* form of the verb 'be' occurs as expected. Thus, the verb 'be' behaves as the main verb of the parent clause. Consider the examples in (7) for illustration:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(7) Morphology of verb 'be' with an uninflected verb as its complement

a. *ǰaare* *niyas* *dila*
1SG.DAT go.INF be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]
'I have to go'

b. *kʰot* *manaas* *dilum,*
this.[−H, II] happen.INF be.PST.3SG.[−H, II],
ete=ii *ke* *u* *mašhuur* *u-manu*
that.[−H, II]=EMPH COMP 3PL famous 3PL-become
bam
be.PAST.[+H]
'It was to happen like this, and they had become famous like that'

Note that the uninflected verb in (7) above behaves like a [−H, II] noun (or a gerund) with which the verb 'be' agrees.

5.3 *D*-Prefix Verbs

There is a class of verbs in Burushaski which begin with a peculiar prefix that occupies the leftmost position in the inflected verb. Verbs in this class start with *d-* and have been termed the "*d*-prefix verbs" in the literature. According to Bashir (2004), the *d*-prefix is part of a relict system of marking directionality and viewpoint. The *d*-prefix is followed by the verb stem which contains a pronominal prefix (for [+Human] nouns) attached to the verb root. It may contain a vowel whose quality is determined by the vowel of the pronominal prefix in the verb stem. Some examples of *d*-prefix verbs are: *dV-yal-*'hear/listen', *dV-ṣqalt-* 'reach', *dV-∅-* 'come', *dV-matal-* 'yawn', *dV-ɣun-* 'ripen', *dV-sil-* 'soak', *dV-ɣaras-* 'ask', *dV-c/s-* 'bring', *dV-sV-* 'pull (out)' etc.[6] Note that the root of the verb 'come' in *dV-∅-* is denoted by a zero morpheme. This could be due to a historical change, which led to the deletion of what may have been a consonant.

Based on the argument structure of the verb, a schematic representation of an inflected *d*-prefix verb is given in (8) as follows:

(8) Schematic representation of the inflected *d*-prefix verb:
d-Prefix – AFFIX 1 – VERB STEM – AFFIX 2

6 Some *d*-prefix verbs seem to lack a pronominal prefix. For example, /d-u-man-as/ '(for X (e.g., milk)' to be born' as in *dumanum mamu* 'yogurt' (lit. 'milk that is born'). In these cases, the vowel /u-/ does not agree with any argument.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

The syntactic status of the AFFIX 1 (i.e., NP Agreement) and AFFIX 2 (Tense and NP Agreement) has already been discussed in Chapter 3 (see Section 3.3). The morphology of the *d*-prefix verbs in SB is illustrated by the data in (9), (10), and (11) for the verbs *dV-∅-* 'come', *dV-ṣqalt-* 'reach', and *dV-yal-* 'hear/listen':

(9) *dV-∅* 'come'

a. *ume* *šugulu* *dumoomo*
um-e šugulu-∅ dV-mo-∅-umo
2SG-GEN friend-ABS *d*-3FSG-come-PST.3FSG
'Your (female) friend came'

b. *ume* *šugulu* *diiimi*
um-e šugulu-∅ dV-i-∅-umi
2SG-GEN friend-ABS *d*-3MSG-come-PST.3MSG
'Your (male) friend came'

c. *ǰa* *daayam*
ǰa-∅ dV-a-∅-am
1SG-ABS *d*-1SG-come-PST.1SG
'I came'

d. *ma* *damaaman*
ma-∅ dV-ma-∅-uman
2PL-ABS *d*-2PL-come-PST.PL
'You (Pl) came'

e. *u* *duuman*
u-∅ dV-u-∅-uman
3PL-ABS *d*-3PL-come-PST.PL
'They came'

(10) *dV-ṣqalt-* 'reach'

a. (*ǰa*) *daṣqaltam*
(ǰa) dV-a-ṣqalt-am
(1SG) *d*-1SG-reach-PST.1SG
'I reached it'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. (*um*) *duquṣqaltuma*
(um) dV-gu-ṣqalt-uma
(2SG) *d*-2SG-ask-PST.2SG
'You reached it'

c. (*in*) *dumoṣqaltumo*
(in) dV-mo-ṣqalt-umo
(3SG) d-3FSG-reach-PST.3FSG
'She reached it'

d. (*in*) *deṣqaltimi*
(in) dV-e-ṣqalt-imi
(3SG) *d*-3MSG-reach-PST.3MSG
'He reached it'

e. (*mi*) *dimeṣqaltuman*
(mi) dV-me-ṣqalt-uman
(3SG) *d*-1PL-reach-PST.PL
'We reached it'

(11) *dV-yal-* 'hear/listen'

a. *amit* *vaxtulu* *dumoyalǰo*
amit vaxt-ulu dV-mo-yal-ǰ-o
which.[–H, II] time-in *d*-3FSG-hear-IPFV-3FSG
'When she hears …'

b. *kʰosei* *ɣariŋ* *daayalǰa* *ba*
kʰose-ii ɣariŋ dV-a-yalǰ-a ba
here-only songs *d*-1SG-hear.IPFV-1SG be.PRES.1SG
'I listen to songs here (only)'

c. *dukoyal*
dV-go-yal-∅
d-2SG-hear-IMP
'listen; Imperative'

For a detailed analysis of the origin and function of *d*-prefix see Bashir (2004).[7]

7 In this paper Bashir talks about the grammaticalization of the *d*-prefix through the historical development of the language involving "directionality" or deixis; this is followed by degrammaticalization of the *d*-prefix.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

5.4 Causative Verbs

Many causative verbs are formed by means of adding a pronominal prefix in front of the verb which acts like a causative-forming morpheme in SB. A schematic representation of an inflected Causative verb formed in this way is given in (12) as follows:

(12) Schematic representation of causative verbs formed by addition of pronominal prefix:
AFFIX 1(CAUS Prefix) – VERB STEM – AFFIX 2 (Tense and nominal agreement)

Thus, verbs such as *et-* 'do', *huruṭ-* 'sit/stay/live', *her-* 'cry', *min-* 'drink', etc. can be causitivized by adding a pronominal prefix for the Patient argument. Consider the examples in (13)–(16) for illustration:

(13) 'do' vs. 'cause to do'

a. *ǰaa* *cʰil* *ṣek* *etam*
ǰa-e cʰil-∅ ṣek et-am
1SG-ERG water-ABS collect do-PST.1SG
'I collected water'

b. *ǰaa* *aasi* *cʰil* *ṣek* *mootam*
ǰa-e aasi-∅ cʰil-∅ ṣek mo-et-am
1SG-ERG Aasi-ABS water-ABS fill 3FSG-do-PST.1SG
'I made Aasi collect water'

(14) 'sit/stay/live' vs. 'cause to sit/stay/live'

a. *dasivanc* *ulu* *huruṭuman*
dasin-(v)anc-∅ ulu huruṭ-uman
girl-PL-ABS in(side) sit-PST.PL
'The girls sat/stayed inside'

b. *mii* *dasivancere* *ulu* *uhuruṭuman*
mi-i dasin-(v)anc-e-re ulu u-huruṭ-uman
1PL-ERG girl-PL-GEN-DAT in(side) 3PL-sit-PST.PL
'We made the girls sit/stay in(side)'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(15) 'cry' vs. 'cause to cry'

a. *maahi* *herču* *bo*
maahi her-č-u bo
Mahi cry-IPFV-3FSG be.PRES.3FSG
'Mahi is crying/Mahi cries'

b. *hasiinaa* *maahi* *moherumo*
hasiina-e maahi-∅ mo-her-umo
Hasina-ERG Mahi-ABS 3FSG-cry-PST.3FSG
'Hasina made Mahi cry'

(16) 'drink' vs. 'cause to drink'

a. *mahii* *mamu* *minumo*
mahi-e mamu-∅ min-umo
Mahi-ERG milk-ABS drink-PST.3FSG
'Mahi drank milk'

b. *umii* *ǰoṭumucere* *mamu* *oomiy*
u-mi-e ǰoṭ-muc-e-re mamu-∅ oo-miy
3PL-mother-ERG child-PL-GEN-DAT milk-ABS 3PL-drink.IPFV
bo
bo
be. PRES.3FSG
'Mother feeds/is feeding milk to (her) children'

c. *ine* *esere* *muimo* *mamu*
in-e es-e-re mui-mo mamu-∅
3SG-ERG 3SG.[−H, I]-GEN-DAT 3FSG.self-GEN.FSG milk-ABS
eemiy *bo*
ee-miy bo
3SG-drink.IPFV be.PRES.3FSG
'She feeds it (young one of a goat) her own milk'
(From the story of *Shri Badat*; Munshi 2016)

Notice in the examples above, the verb agreement follows the same pattern in the Causative verbs as in other verbs with an agreement prefix. Thus, in AFFIX 1 we have a pronominal prefix for Absolutive in (13-b) and (15-b) and for Dative in (14-b), (16-b) and (16-c) above.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

There are some verbs which can be semantically claimed to be the causative forms of other related verbs but are not morphologically derived from them. In other words, they are lexically independent. For instance, *ṣi-/še-* 'eat' and *-cʰer-* 'feed; CAUSE-to eat' (cf. English 'eat' and 'feed' (respectively)). The morphology of each of these verbs is based on the grammatical structure and case assignment as discussed in Chapter 4 Morpho-Syntax. Consider the data in (17) for illustration:

(17) *ṣi-/še-* 'eat' vs. *-cʰer-* 'feed; cause to eat'

a. *ǰaa* *ṣapik* *šeyam*
ǰa-e ṣapik-∅ šey-am
1SG-ERG food-ABS eat-PST.1SG
'I ate food'

b. *ǰaa* *maahimore* *ṣapik* *moocʰeram*
ǰa-e maahi-mo-re ṣapik-∅ moo-cʰer-am
1SG-ERG Mahi-GEN.FSG-DAT food-ABS 3FSG-feed-PST.1SG
'I fed Mahi' (Or 'I made/caused Mahi eat food')

c. *ǰaa* *ǰariire* *ṣapik* *eecʰeram*
ǰa-e ǰari-e-re ṣapik ee-cʰer-am
1SG-ERG Jari-GEN-DAT food 3MSG-feed-PST.1SG
'I fed Jari' (or 'I made Jari eat food')

Data from different dialects of Burushaski reveal that another method of causitivization is available in the language with respect to certain verbs. This involves the addition of a causative-forming morpheme (prefix) *-s-*. Consider data from SB for verbs 'be borne' and 'melt' in their simple and causative forms in (18) and (19) for illustration:

(18) *dV-man-*'be created/born' vs. *dV-s-man-* 'to create/give birth to (something)'

a. *dimanimi*
dV-i-man-imi
d-3MSG-exist-PST.3SG
'He is born' (Intransitive)

b. *ǰa* *damanam*
ǰa dV-a-man-am
1SG.ABS *d*-1SG-exist-PST.1SG
'I am born' (Intransitive)

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *desmanam*
d-e-s-man-am
d-3MSG-CAUS-exist-PST.1SG
'I created it/I gave birth to it' (Transitive)

d. *dumosmanam*
du-mo-s-man-am
d-3FSG-CAUS-exist-PST.1SG
'I gave her birth (Lit. 'I caused her to be borne') (Transitive)

e. *ǰaa* *damasmanam*
ǰa-e da-ma-s-man-am
1SG-ERG *d*-2PL-CAUS-exist-PST.1SG
'I gave you (pl.) birth (Lit. 'I caused you (pl.) to be borne') (Transitive)

(19) *diil-*'melt' vs. *e-s-tu-* 'cause to melt'[8]
a. *šama / ɣamu / maltaṣ* *diilimi*
šama / ɣamu / maltaṣ dV-il-imi
candle / ice / vegetable oil *d*-prefix-melt-PST.3SG
'The candle/ice/vegetable oil melted' (Intransitive)

b. *šama / ɣamu / maltaṣ* *estiyam*
šama / ɣamu / maltaṣ e-s-di-am
candle / ice / vegetable oil 3MSG-CAUS-melt-PST.1SG
'I melted the candle/ice/vegetable oil' (Transitive)

8 It is not clear at this point as to what the underlying form of the verb 'melt' is. Hence only a tentative analysis is provided here (the agreement suffix *-imi* is the default agreement suffix based on the masculine singular). Furthermore, there are dialectal differences. Consider the following examples from HB where the intransitive and transitive forms of the verb 'melt' vary between *duuɻ-*'melt' and *destu-* 'cause to melt':
a. *duuɻimi*
duuɻ-imi
melt-PST.3SG
'It melted' (Intransitive)

b. *destuam*
de-s-duuɻ-am
d-prefix-CAUS-melt-PST.1SG
'I melted it' (Transitive)

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

5.5 Negation

Negatives or Negative Sentences in SB are formed by inserting the Negative morpheme *au* (glossed as 'NEG') before the inflected verb. Consider the data in (20) for illustration:

(20) Negation with verbs ṣi-/še- 'eat', *ɣan-* 'feel', and *huruṭ-* 'sit'

a. *ǰaa* *ṣapik* *au* *šeyam*
ǰa-e ṣapik au še-am
1SG-ERG food NEG eat-PST.1SG
'I did not eat food'

b. *ǰaare* *in* *šua* *au* *ɣanimi*
ǰa-a-re in šua au ɣan-umi
1SG-GEN-DAT 3SG good NEG feel-PST-3MSG
'I did not like him'

c. *kʰole* *au* *huruṭ*
kʰole au huruṭ-∅
here NEG sit-IMP.SG
'Do not sit here'

d. *es* *loy* *au* *gaarcimi*
es loy au gaarc-umi
that.[–H, I] fox NEG run.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
'The/That fox did not run (away)'

In a number of verbs the negative morpheme *au* is phonologically reduced to *a-* and is cliticized on to the following verb stem. The change is accompanied by the hardening/devoicing of the initial consonant of the verb (see Section 2.4.6 for more on this). In the case of the verbs beginning in a vowel (e.g., *et-* 'do'), a palatal glide is inserted between the two adjacent vowels. Consider the data in (21) and (22) as follows:

(21) Negation with verb 'be'

a. *in* *haale* *bam*
in ha-ele bam
3SG.ABS home-LOC be.PST.[+H]
'He was at home'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

in	*hale*	*apam*
in	ha-ele	a-bam
3SG.ABS	home-LOC	NEG-be.PST.[+H]

'He was not at home'

b. *širi badate naslucum baan*
širi badat-e nasl-cum baan
Shri Badat-GEN progeny-from be.PRES.PL
'(We) are from Shri Badat's progeny'
Or '(We) have descended from Shri Badat's family'

širi badate naslucum apaan
širi badat-e nasl-cum a-baan
Shri Badat-GEN progeny-from NEG-be.PRES.3PL.[+H]
'(We) are not from Shri Badat's progeny'
Or '(We) have not descended from Shri Badat's family'

But,

c. *ǰaa xayaalulu kʰot bar šua*
ǰa-e xayaal-ulu kʰot bar šua
1SG-ERG thinking-in this.[–H, II] talk(n.) good
au dila
au dila
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'In my view, this story (conversation, etc.) is not good'

(22) Negation with verb *et-* 'do'

a. *ǰaa doro etam*
ǰa-e doro et-am
1SG-ERG work do-PST.1SG
'I worked'

ǰaa doro ayetam
ǰa-e doro a-et-am
1SG-ERG work NEG-do-PST.1SG
'I did not work'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *ǰaa* *ɣar* *etam*
ǰa-e ɣar et-am
1SG-ERG marriage do-PST.1SG
'I got married'

ǰaa *ɣar* *ayetam*
ǰa-e ɣar a-et-am
1SG-ERG marriage NEG-do-PST.1SG
'I did not get married'

Thus, in the case of the negation of the verb 'be' of the *dil-* class and verbs such as *še-* 'eat', *gaarc-* 'run', *giret-* 'dance', *huruṭ-* 'sit', and *ɣan-* 'feel', the negative marker is a free morpheme and no devoicing of the following consonant takes place (cf. *au dila* 'is not; [–H, II]' and not **atila; au gaarcimi* '(he/it) did not run' and not **akaarcimi*; and *au girat* 'don't dance; Imperative' and not **akirat*). Based on the evidence from the different dialects, it can be argued that cliticization of the negative morpheme is a change in progress. Consider the cognates from sister dialects such as HB *a-pi* 'NEG-be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]' and *auruṭ* 'don't sit' (< */au huruṭ/ or /a-huruṭ/).

5.6 Imperatives and Prohibitives

Imperatives are formed by adding an Imperative-forming suffix to the base or underived verb stem. This is represented by *-i* for Second Person Singular and *-in* for Second Person Plural. In certain verbs, such as *gaarc-* 'run', *huruṭ-*'sit/stay', *d-yal-* 'listen', *giret-* 'dance/play', and *i-cʰarkan* 'hit (3SG)', the Imperative Singular is represented by a null or zero morpheme. Consider the data in (23) and (24) as follows:

(23) Verbs which take *i-* for 'Imperative' in the Singular forms
a. *čaɣa* *eti*
čaɣa et-i
talk do-IMP.SG
'(You (Singular)) talk; Imperative' (Lit. 'Do talking')

b. *doro* *eti*
doro et-i
work do-IMP.SG
'(You (Singular)) work; Imperative'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *um* *guymo* *doro eti*
um gu-imo doro et-i
2SG 2SG-own work do-IMP.SG
'(You (Singular)) do your (own) work; Imperative'

d. *ma* *maymo* *doro etin*
ma ma-imo doro et-in
2PL 2PL-own workdo-IMP.PL
'(You (Plural)) do your (own) work; Imperative'

e. *mayoon* *gaṭi* *maniin*
ma-yoon gaṭi mani-in
2PL-all together become-IMP.PL
'All of you come/get together; Imperative'

f. *ideli / idelin*
i-del-i / i-del-in
3MSG-hit-IMP.SG / 3MSG-hit-IMP.PL
'(You (Singular/Plural)) hit him; Imperative'

g. *kili* *deli / delin*
kili-∅ del-i / del-in
nail.ABS hit-IMP.SG / hit-IMP.PL
'(You (Singular/Plural)) fasten the nail; Imperative'

(24) Verbs which take a null morpheme for 'Imperative' in Singular forms

a. *gaarc*
gaarc-∅
run-IMP.SG
'(You (Singular)) run; Imperative'

b. *huruṭ* (cf. HB *huru*)
huruṭ-∅
sit-IMP.SG
'(You (Singular)) sit/stay; Imperative'

c. *huruṭin*
huruṭ-in
sit-IMP.PL
'(You (Plural)) sit/stay; Imperative'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

d. *dukoyal*
dV-ko-yal-∅
d-2SG-listen-IMP.SG
'(You (Singular)) listen; Imperative'

d. *girat*
girat-∅
dance-IMP.SG
'(You (Singular)) dance; Imperative'

e. *ic^{h}arkan*
i-c^{h}arkan-∅
3MSG-hit-IMP.SG
'(You (Singular)) hit him; Imperative'

f. *ic^{h}arkanin*
i-c^{h}arkan-in
3MSG-hit-IMP.PL
'(You (Plural)) hit him; Imperative'

e.

k^{h}ine	*gane*	*p^{h}ulan*	*dicu*
k^{h}in-e	gane	p^{h}ul-an	dicu-∅
this.[+H]-GEN	for	cup-SG.NDEF	bring.3SG-IMP.SG

'(You (Singular)) bring a cup for him; Imperative'

f.

k^{h}inmo	*gane*	*čaayan*	*dusuyin*
k^{h}in-mo	gane	čaay-an	dusu-in
this.[+H]-GEN.F	for	tea-SG.NDEF.	bring.[−H, II]-IMP.PL

'(You (Plural)) bring tea for her; Imperative'

g.

čaay	*dač^{h}i*
čaay	d-a-č^{h}i-∅[9]
tea	*d*-1SG-give.[−H, II]-IMP.SG

'(You (Singular)) give me tea; Imperative'

9 Notice the use of *d*-prefix in *dač^{h}i* 'give me' when the recipient is First Person Singular; while, elsewhere, only *-č^{h}i* is used. Thus, *miire čaay mi-č^{h}iin* '(You; Pl.) give us tea; Imperative', *k^{h}uure čaay u-č^{h}iin* '(You; Pl.) give them tea; Imperative'. Also note that the use of *-č^{h}i* 'give; Imperative' is restricted to [−H, II] class nouns in the Direct Object (DO) position (e.g., with liquids, such as, water, tea, milk, curry, etc., and certain solids, such as, weapons in general (e.g., sword, chisel, axe, spade and some digging instruments; an exception being *ç^{h}ur* 'knife'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

h. *kʰuure* *čaay* *učʰiin*
kʰu-e-re *čaay* *u-čʰi-in*
3PL-GEN-DAT tea 3PL-give-IMP.PL
'(You (Plural)) give them tea; Imperative'

Negative Imperatives (Imperatives of Prohibition) follow the same pattern as above (i.e., /-i/ ~ zero allomorphy). Consider the data in (25) as follows:

(25) Negative Imperatives

a. *au* *gaarc*
au gaarc-∅
NEG run-IMP.SG
'Don't run'

b. *kʰole* *au* *huruṭ*
kʰole au huruṭ-∅
here NEG sit-IMP.SG
'Don't sit/stay here'

c. *taɣay-ulu* *au* *huruṭ*
taɣay-ulu au huruṭ-∅
mud-in NEG sit-IMP.SG
'Don't sit/stay in (the) mud'

d. *tʰi* *au* *sen*
tʰi au sen-∅
lie (n.) NEG speak-IMP.SG
'Don't speak/tell (a) lie'

e. *guumišu* *ayeti*
gu-um-išu a-et-i
2SG-lie-PL NEG-do-IMP.SG
'Don't tell lies'

---

for which a different verb *ǰo* is used. Thus, *ç*ʰ*ur ǰo* 'give knife; Imperative'). Also note that, the verb *ǰaɣon* 'give; Imperative' is used when the DO refers to amorphous solids like, sugar, salt, etc., and *ǰo* 'give; Imperative' is used when the DO refers to (concrete) solids. Sometimes *ǰo* and *ǰaɣon* could be used for the same noun depending on its consistency. Thus, for 'salt', *bayu ǰo* 'give salt; Imperative' is used when it is perceived as a solid (or rock form), but *bayu ǰaɣon* 'give salt; Imperative' is used exclusively for powdered and grainy salt.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

It seems the /-i/ ~ zero allomorphy in the imperative suffix is driven by final vowel deletion in certain contexts. Further investigation can reveal the specific environment in which the change occurs.

The Imperative function is sometimes also expressed by means of an infinitive ending. Consider the examples in (26) as follows:

(26) Infinitives used in imperative clauses

a. *almaariilu* *besen* *ke* *bi* *lip*
almaari-ulu besen ke bi lip
cupboard-in what COMP be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] throw
eti / etas
et-i / et-as
do-IMP.SG / do-INF
'Whatever be in the cupboard, throw it away; Imperative'

b. *pʰululu* *čaay* *tʰii / tʰiyas*
pʰul-ulu čaay tʰi-i / tʰi-as
cup-in tea pour-IMP.SG / pour-INF
'Pour the tea into the cup; Imperative'

The use of infinitive constructions for an imperative function is also found in some other South Asian languages and is possibly an areal phenomenon in South Asia.[10]

5.7 Participial Forms

As discussed in section 3.5, there are at least three types of participial or non-finite constructions in the language. These include: a) conjunctive participial

10 Consider the following examples where an infinitive or future construction is used the for Imperative in Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri:

a. Hindi-Urdu
mere *liye* *ek kitaab laana*
me.DAT for one book bring.INF
'Bring a book for me'.

b. Kashmiri
mye *kicʰ* *anakʰ* *kitaab-ah*
me.DAT for bring.FUT book-NDEF
'Bring/Get a/any book for me' (Lit. 'You will bring a book for me').

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

constructions (also called "converbs"), b) *-um* participial constructions (employing a nominalizing suffix *-um* ~ *-m* which is added to the underived verb stem), and c) *-as* participial constructions (based on the infinitival form of the (underived) verb). While the *-um* and *-as* participials are pretty straightforward in terms of their morphology, the conjunctive participials are more complex. Since the morpho-syntactic aspects of all three constructions have been dealt with in Chapter 3 (see section 3.5), in this section we will only focus on the morphology of the conjunctive participial forms.

Conjunctive participial constructions in SB are generally formed by adding a participial prefix, which is some form of *nV-* (designated as "PTCP"), to the underived verb stem. This prefix, the underlying form of which is argued to be *nu-* (given its occurrence in different phonological environments), has a number of allomorphic variations, such as, *nu-, ni-, no-, ne-*, and *n-*. The vowel quality of the participial prefix is subject to change depending on the vowel of the verb stem, and if the verb stem begins in a vowel, the vowel in the prefex is deleted.[11] Thus, we have participial forms such as *nukucar* 'having walked' (< /nu-guc^{h}ar-/ 'PTCP-walk'), *nikirmin* 'having written' (< /nu-girmin-/ 'PTCP-write'), *nimin* 'having drunk' (< /nu-min-/ 'PTCP-drink'), *numan* 'having been/existed' (< /nu-man-/ 'PTCP-become/exist'), *nosqul* 'having burnt (them)' (< /nu- + o- + squl-/ 'PTCP-3PL-burn'), etc. In many verbs, however, an additional suffix *-in* is attached to the underived verb stem, as in the case of *neegin* 'having sowed (it)' (< /nu-e-gi-in/ 'PTCP-3SG-sow/put-PTCP'), *netin* 'having done (it)' (</nu-et-in/),[12] *nusenin* 'having said' (< /nu-sen-in/), and *nupelin* 'having worn' (< /nu-bel-in/). Consider the data in (27) and (28) for an illustration of the two types of conjunctive participial forms in SB:

(27) Conjunctive participial formation: use of *n*-prefix

a. *buṭan*	*nukucar*	*hit^{h}aan*	*yeecuman*
buṭ-an	nu-kucar	hit^{h}a-an	∅-yeec-uman
much-SG.NDEF	PTCP-walk	place-SG.NDEF	3SG-see-PST.PL

'Having walked a lot, they saw a place'

b. *nosqul*	*ẓuçu*	*baan*
nu-o-squl	ẓu-çu[13]	baan
PTCP-3PL-burn	come-IPFV	be.PRES.PL

'Having burnt them, (they) are coming (back)'

11 See section 2.4 in Chapter 2 for more on different types of vowel changes in SB.

12 Cf. *neetin* 'having caused X to do Y' (</nu-e-et-in/).

13 Note that the final vowel in *ẓuçu* is probably epenthetic (cf. *ẓuçam* 'I will come' (</ẓu-ç-am/).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *yuuṭiŋ* *čuruk* *numan* *diimi*
i-uṭi-ŋ čuruk nu-man di-imi
3MSG-leg-PL cut PTCP-exist/become come.3MSG-PST.3MSG
'His legs being cut, he came (back)'

d. *cʰigiran* *amis* *insaane* *mamu* *nimin*
cʰigir-an amis insaan-e mamu-∅ nu-min
goat-SG.NDEF who.[–H, I] human-GEN milk-ABS PTCP-drink
mayimi
may-imi
exist.IPFV-3MSG
'There is a goat which has drunk human milk'
(Sentences (b) to (d) from the story of Shri Badat)

(28) Conjunctive participial formation: use of both prefix (*nu-*) and suffix (*-in*)

a. *meharbaani* *netin*
meharbaani nu-et-in
obligation PTCP-do-PTCP
'Having obliged' (= 'Please')

b. *gaṭoŋik* *nupelin*
gaṭoŋik nu-bel-in
dress-PL PTCP-wear-PTCP
'Wearing clothes/dresses'

c. *et* *nusenin* *tʰam-e* *inere*
et-∅ nu-sen-in tʰam-e in-e-re
that.[–H, II]-ABS PTCP-say-PTCP king-ERG 3SG-GEN-DAT
ǰuu *etimi*
ǰuu et-imi
greeting do-PST.3MSG
'Having said that, the king said (his) greetings to him'

As noted earlier the suffix *-in* is optional in some cases (e.g., *nusenin* ~ *nusen* (/nu-sen-in/) 'having said', *neegin* ~ *neegi* (</nu-e-gi-in/) 'having sowed', and *nupelin* ~ *nupel* (</nu-bel-in/) 'having worn').

In yet another set of verbs, only the suffix *-in* (~*n*) is used in the participial form. These include *d*-prefix verbs and some others. Thus, we have *duɣarus-in* 'having asked', *diye-n* 'having stood', *dii-n* 'having come', *duus-in* 'having gone out', *ni-in* (~*niin-in*) 'having gone', etc. Consider the data in (29) for illustration:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(29) Conjunctive participial formation: use of suffix *-in*

a. *duɣarusin, iimo doroolu girimi*
duɣarus-in iimo doro-ulu gir-imi
ask-PTCP his.own work-in be.engaged-PST.3MSG
'(After) having asked (that), he got back to his own work'

b *haale diin, mii pʰiṭi ṣiman*
ha-ele dii-n mi-e pʰiṭi-∅ ṣi-uman
home- LOC come.3SG-PTCP 1PL-ERG bread-ABS eat-PST.PL
'(After) having come home, we ate food'

c. *caṭ diyen ine čaɣa ečU bam*
caṭ diye-in in-e čaɣa ečU bam
upright stand-PTCP 3MSG-ERG talk (n.) do.IPFV be.PST.3SG
'He was talking while standing' (Or, '(After) having stood up, he was talking')

d. *duusin, ine gaarcimi*
duus-in, ine gaarc-imi
go.out-PTCP, 3SG run-PST.3MSG
'(After) having gone (out), he ran'

e. *in ine kaaṭe niinin au meey*
in in-e kaaṭe ni-in-in au meey
$3SG_i$ $3SG_j$-GEN with go-PTCP-PTCP NEG become.IPFV
bai
bai
be.PRES.$3MSG_i$
'He_i has not gone with him_j'

Notice the exceptional use of a double participial suffix in *niinin* in (29-e) above. It is not yet clear whether this kind of variation in the usage of the participial affix is purely lexical or triggered by a historical change. It is possible that the *d*-prefix verbs behave differently because the *d*-prefix and the participial prefix /n(v)-/ compete for the same slot. Similarly, the use of a double suffix in *niinin* could be the result of an analogical change owing to possible phonological constraints.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

5.8 Optatives

In many languages, "optative" is defined as a grammatical category of Mood which expresses hopes, wishes, or desires (see Crystal 1994: 278). Some people have used the term "desiderative" in the literature to designate this function. In SB optatives are formed by adding a suffix *-iṣ* to the underived verb. Consider the examples in (30):

(30) Optative expressed by the use of *-iṣ*

a. *xudaaye*[14] *u* *xoš* *ohuruṭiṣ*
xudaa(y)-e u-∅ xoš o-huruṭ-iṣ
God-ERG 3PL-ABS happy 3PL-stay-OPT
'May God keep them happy'

b. *xudaaye* *umere* *šua* *eetiṣ*
xudaa-e um-e-re šua-∅ e-et-iṣ
God-ERG 2SG-GEN-DAT good-ABS 3SG-do-OPT
'May God make you healthy'

c. *xudaa* *nusen* *um* *cʰoor* *šua* *gumaniṣ*
xudaa-∅ nu-sen um-∅ cʰoor šua gu-man-iṣ
God-ABS PTCP-say 2SG-ABS soon good 2SG-become-OPT
'May God wish that you recover soon' (Or 'By God's wish, may you recover soon')

d. *iiriṣ*
i-ir-iṣ
3MSG-die-OPT
'May he die'

e. *muiriṣ*
mu-ir-iṣ
3FSG-die-OPT
'May she die'

14 Note that the insertion of *y* in *xudaay* could be a result of contact influence (cf. Kashmiri *xodaay* as opposed to *xudaa* in Urdu).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

5.9 Presumptive, Potential, and Dubitative Moods

This section deals with sentences which express a presupposition, hypothesis, or probability relating to a fact denoted by the verb, as well as other similar functions, such as doubt, curiosity, etc. Based on the various functions, they are classified under Potential, Presumptive and Dubitative moods.

Potential Mood (designated as "POT") in SB is expressed by the addition of a suffix *-ce* to the verb inflected for Future (note that the Future tense is expressed by the derived Imperfective stem along with the Subject/Agent-agreement suffix). Consider the examples in (31) as follows:

(31) Potential Mood: expressed by use of *-ce*

a. *ele* *ke* *mat* *mayimce* *dastuur*
ele ke mat may-imi-ce dastuur
there also NEG_{Tag} exist.IPFV-3SG-POT tradition
'It would not have been a tradition there as well, would it?'

b. *agar* *ǰa* *ṭiičar* *mayamce,* *ǰa* *umere*
agar ǰa ṭiičar may-am-ce, ǰa um-e-re
if 1SG teacher become.IPFV-1SG-POT 1SG 2SG-GEN-DAT
sabaq *gooseyamce*
sabaq goo-sey-am-ce
lesson 2SG-say.IPFV-1SG-POT
'If I were a teacher, I would teach you' (Lit. 'If I were a teacher, I would tell you (a) lesson')[15]

The Presumptive Mood is represented by the addition of an auxiliary verb inflected for Imperfective after the Participial form of the main verb. Consider the examples in (32):

(32) Presumptive Mood

a. *in* *šaam* *xaaṣiŋ* *haale* *diin*
in šaam xaaṣiŋ haa-ele di-i-∅-in
3SG.ABS evening until home-LOC *d*-prefix-3MSG-come-PTCP
mayimi (*~meymi*)
may-imi
exist.IPFV-3MSG
'He will have come home by the evening'

15 Compare *sabaq van-un* 'to teach' (lit. 'to tell a lesson') in Kashmiri.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *in* *šaam* *xaaṣiŋ* *haale* *dumoon*
in šaam xaaṣiŋ haa-ele du-mo-∅-in
3SG.ABS evening until home-LOC *d*-prefix-3FSG-come-PTCP
mayumo (*~meymo*)
may-umo
exist.IPFV-3FSG
'She will have come home by the evening'

Dubitative sentences, where the speaker is uncertain or doubtful of the truth of the event denoted by the verb, are expressed by adding what looks like a one-word evidential clause, viz., *heyam* at the end of the main clause. Morphologically, *heyam* is composed of *hey-*, the derived (i.e., Imperfective) stem of the verb *hen-* 'learn', plus the agreement suffix *-am* for First Person Singular, and could literally be translated as 'I will learn' (i.e. /hey-am/ 'learn.IPFV-1SG'). However, it seems it has acquired the status of a frozen expression in these constructions meaning 'perhaps', as illustrated by the examples in (33):

(33) Dubitative sentences: use of the verb *hen-* 'learn'

a. *humaa* *tam* *delu* *bo* *heyam*
humaa-e tam-∅ delu bo heyam
Huma-ERG bath-ABS take.3FSG be.PRES.3FSG perhaps
'Huma may have taken a bath' (Or, 'I think Huma has taken a bath')

b. *humaa* *ṣapik* *ṣi* *bo* *heyam*
humaa-e ṣapik-∅ ṣi bo heyam
Huma-ERG food-ABS eat be.PRES.3FSG perhaps
'Huma may have eaten food' (Or, 'I think Huma has eaten food')

c. *in* *bat* *ṣiçumane* *meymo*
in-e bat-∅ ṣiçu-mane[16] may-umo
3SG- ERG steamed.rice-ABS eat.IPFV-exist exist.IPFV-2FSG
heyam
heyam
perhaps
'She is probably eating rice (food)' (Or, 'I think she is eating rice')

16 Note that *mane* 'exist' acts as a progressive marking suffix.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

d. *ine* *graamar* *girminu* *bai* *heyam*
in-e graamar-∅ girminu bai heyam
3SG-ERG grammar-ABS write be.PRES.3MSG perhaps
'He may have written the grammar' (Or, 'I think he has written the grammar')

e. *mumkin* *dila,* *mii* *yakal,* *ele,*
mumkin dila mi-e yakal ele
possible be.PRES.SG.[–H, II] 1PL-GEN towards there
mene *besen* *sey* *baan*
men-e besen-∅ sey baan
someone-ERG what-ABS say.IPFV be.PRES.PL
ke, *preeš* *etu* *bai* *heyam,*
ke preeš etu bai heyam
COMP prepare do.PFV be. PRES.3MSG perhaps
graamar *preeš* *etu* *bai* *heyam,*
graamar-∅ preeš etu bai heyam
grammar-ABS prepare do.PFV be. PRES.3MSG perhaps
ke *dimeyalu* *baan* *veese*
ke di-me-yalu baan veese
COMP *d*-1PL-hear be.PRES.PL such.like (DM)
'It is possible, in our region (Lit. "towards our direction"), there, somebody, what do they say,[17] somebody may have prepared (it), (that somebody) may have prepared a grammar. We have heard, I guess. We have heard such like (DM).'
(From a discussion on Burushaski language and grammar; see Appendix)

Another way to create sentences with Dubitative Mood is based on an areal pattern whereby a loan adverb *šaayad* 'perhaps' (from Urdu; also used in Kashmiri; note that *šaayad* is of Persian origin) is similarly added clause-finally. Consider the examples in (34) for illustration:

(34) Dubitative sentences: use of *šaayad* 'perhaps'
a. *humaa* *tam* *delu* *bo* *šaayad*
humaa-e tam-∅ delu bo šaayad
Huma-ERG bath-ABS take be.PRES.3FSG probably
'Huma may have taken a bath' (Lit. 'Huma has taken a bath perhaps')

17 Note that *besen sey baan* (lit. 'what do they say') is a very common discourse marker in SB.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *humaa* *ṣapik* *ṣi* *bo* *šaayad*
humaa-e ṣapik-∅ ṣi bo šaayad
Huma-ERG food-ABS eat be.PRES.3FSG probably
'Huma may have eaten food' (Lit. 'Huma has eaten food perhaps')

c. *ine* *graamar* *girminu* *bai* *šaayad*
in-e graamar-∅ girminu bai šaayad
3SG-ERG grammar-ABS write be.PRES.3MSG probably
'He may have written the grammar' (Lit. 'He has written the grammar perhaps')

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

CHAPTER 6

Derivational Morphology

Derivational morphology generally involves the addition of an affix to form new words. Some of the fairly productive derivational processes in Burushaski are: suffixation, compounding, and reduplication. These are used in the derivation of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, as discussed at length in the following sections.

6.1 Suffixation

Suffixation is a very productive word-formation process in Burushaski employed in the derivation of nouns and adjectives as well as adverbs. Many abstract nouns in SB are formed by adding the suffix *-kuṣ* to a base adjective. Consider the examples in (1) for illustration:

(1) Adjective > Noun formation: *-kuṣ* suffixation

Adjective (Base)	Abstract Noun (Derived)
ǰoṭ 'young (child)'	*ǰoṭukuṣ* 'childhood'
čʰaṭ 'dwarf'	*čʰaṭukuṣ* 'dwarfishness' (rarely used)
ṭuṭaŋ 'dark'	*ṭuṭaŋkuṣ* 'darkness'
daɣanum 'fat, thick'	*daɣanumkuṣ* 'fatness'
garuum ~ *garurum* 'hot/warm'	*garumkuṣ* 'heat'
saŋ 'bright'	*saŋkuṣ* 'brightness'

A less frequently occurring abstract-noun forming suffix attested in SB is *-ayi*. This involves the addition of the suffix to a base noun, as illustrated in (2):

(2) Noun > Noun formation: *-ayi* suffixation

Base noun	Derived noun
šugulu 'friend'	*šugulayi* 'friendship'[1]

1 Note that Urdu has a similar pattern in the word *dostii* 'friendship' from *doost* 'friend'. However, according to Berger (1998, vol. 3: 398) *šugulu* is a Shina loan; it is thus likely that the suffix *-ayi* is also borrowed along with it. Some speakers of SB do not recognize *šuɣulayi*.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2019 | DOI:10.1163/9789004387898_007
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

A derivational suffix *-kiṣ* is added to a noun "X", forming an adjective which means '(something/somebody) with (feature) X'. Consider the data in (3) for example:

(3) Noun > Adjective formation: *-kiṣ* suffixation

Base noun	Derived Adjective
bayu 'salt'	*bayukiṣ* 'salty'
mamu 'milk'	*mamukiṣ* 'milky'
mato 'wisdom'	*matokiṣ* 'wise'
pʰut 'monster'	*pʰutkiṣ* 'mad'

A very productive derivational process in the formation of adjectives employs the nominalizing suffix *-um*. This is a frequently used adjective-forming suffix found in most SB adjectives. Consider the examples in (4) for illustration:

(4) Adjective formation: *-um* suffixation

ɯyum[2]	'big'
gašarum	'sweet'
ṣuqurum	'sour'
babarum	'spicy, hot'
tʰaanum	'tall, high'
daɣanum	'fat, thick'
biyanum	'slim, thin'
eirum	'dear (one)'
baardum	'red'
garuum~garurum	'hot/warm' (cf. Urdu-Hindi and Persian *garm* 'hot/warm')

Although a large number of adjectives in Burushaski contain some form of the suffix *-um*, the origin and morphosyntactic status of the stem is unclear. However, because of its productive use, it is plausible to assume that *-um* is the basic adjective-forming suffix in the language. Consider the examples in (5) where adverbs are nominalized (adjectivized) by the addition of *-um*:

2 A speaker of Hunza Burushaski (Piar Karim) maintains that *ɯyum* is a lexical borrowing, which implies that the (apparent) *-um* ending in this particular case may be fortuitous.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(5) Examples of *-um* suffixation in Adverbs: Adjective/Adverbial formation

Adverb (Base)	Adjective/Adverbial phrase (Derived)
yar 'early'	*yarum* 'earlier (one)'
ulu 'inside'	*ulum* '(one) from inside; out of"
kʰole 'here'	*kʰolum* '(one) from here'
ele 'there'	*elum* '(one) from there'
iti 'that (place) [–H, II]'	*itum* '(one) from that [–H, II]'
kʰiti 'this (place) [–H, II]'	*kʰitum* '(one) from this [–H, II]'
yaṭe 'above'	*yaṭum* '(one) from above'

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, nominalized (or gerundival) forms of verbs are also derived by adding the suffix *-um* to the (underived/basic) verb stem. Consider the data in (6) for illustration:

(6) Derivation of gerunds: suffixation of *-um* on verbs

Verb form	Gerundival form
čal et-as 'to fight'	*čal et-um* 'fighting (n.)'
baren-as 'to see'	*baren-um* 'seeing (n.)'
man-aas 'to happen'	*man-um* '(its; [–H, II]) happening (n.)'
ṣi-(y)as 'to eat'	*ṣi-m* 'eating (n.)'
sen-as 'to say'	*sen-um* 'saying (n.)'
?	*diyim ~ diim* '(his) coming (n.)'[3]

That the derived forms in (6) are actually gerunds can be seen in examples in (7) where they occupy a syntactic position normally occupied by nominal expressions.

(7) Examples of derived gerunds in sentences/phrases

a. *ine* *diim* *ulu* *ǰa* *niya* *bam*
in-e d-i-∅-um ulu ǰa-∅ niya bam
3SG-GEN *d*-3MSG-come-NMLZ in 1SG-ABS go be.PST.1SG
'I had gone at (the time of) his coming'

b. *manum* *cum* *iciiṭe …*
man-um cum iciiṭe
happen-NMLZ from after
'After (its) happening …'

3 Note that the root for the verb 'come' is yet to be determined with clarity as more than one stem are available for this verb.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *čal* *etum* *aṭe*
čal et-um aṭe
fight do-NMLZ on
'On fighting …' / 'At (the time of) fighting'

d. *senume* *kaa*
sen-um-e kaa
say-NMLZ-GEN with
'At (the time of) saying …'

Verbs can also be converted into (what look like) adjectival forms by *-um* suffixation. Thus, we have *d-yal-* 'hear' ~ *dayalum* '(something) that has been heard (by me)' in (8):

(8) Adjectives derived from verbs: *d-yal-* > *dayalum*

a. *in* *cum* *dayalum* *bar* *dila*
in cum d-a-yal-um bar dila
3SG from *d*-1SG-hear-NMLZ talk be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
'(It) is something I have heard from him'

b. *doonum* *kʰeene / kʰeenere* *tiṣ* *mey*
doon-um kʰeen-e / kʰeen-e-re tiṣ mey
start-NMLZ time-GEN / time-GEN-DAT wind exist.IPFV
bi
bi
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
'At the outset, there is wind (blowing).'

c. *duvasum* *kʰeene*
duvas-um kʰeen-e
come.out-NMLZ time-GEN
'At the time of coming out …'

d. *šuwa* *qor* *nim*[4] *mapʰeeran*
šuwa qor ni-um mapʰeer-an
good age go-NMLZ old-SG.NDEF
'Quite a very old man'

4 Here *qor-nim* (= 'one whose age is gone') is used as a compound. It can be compared to Urdu *umar-rasiida* (lit. 'one whose age is gone').

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Another example of nominalization employing suffixation is the case of the formation of ordinal numbers. Ordinal numerals are formed by adding *ulum* 'from/out of', a compound suffix, to the cardinal base. Consider the examples in (9):

(9) Formation of Ordinal Numerals: *-ulum* suffixation

Cardinal Base	Derived Ordinal Numerals
hik 'one'[5]	–
–	*aval-um* 'first' (cf. Urdu/Persian *aval* 'first'; origin Arabic)
alta- 'two'	*altoolum ~ alto-ulum* 'second'
iski 'three'	*iski-ulum* 'third'
valti ~ valto 'four'	*valtiilum ~ valtoolum* 'fourth'

Notice in (9) above, the derived ordinal numeral *avalum* (and not the expected **aval-ulum*) 'first' has the borrowed (Arabic) *aval* 'one' as the base form and uses *-um* (as opposed to *-ulum*) as the adjective-forming suffix. This could be because of phonological considerations (i.e., haplology to avoid **avalulum*).

It is clear from the data above that *-um* and *-ulum* are related to a common morphological base (i.e. *ulum* < /ulu + -um/ 'inside + Ablative').[6]

A nominalizing suffix *-kuc* is found in a number of words such as *hunzukuc* 'a person from Hunza', *nagarkuc* 'a person from Nagar', etc. This morpheme also appears in words like *kaḍakuc* and *sariikuc* (names of tools used in making doors in the olden days).

6.2 Compounding

Various types of compound nouns and adjectives are found in SB. The most frequently occurring nominal compounds are formed by adding: (i) nouns and nouns, (ii) adjectives and nouns, and (iii) verbs and nouns. The head noun occupies the final position in the compound noun.

In the formation of [noun + noun] compounds (represented as "[$Noun_1$ + $Noun_2$]" below, where $Noun_2$ is the head of the phrase), a Genitive case ending *-e* is suffixed to the modifying noun (i.e., $Noun_1$) which functions as morphological "glue" in the formation of the compound noun (see Payne 1997: 93). The qualifying/modifying noun and the Genitive ending *-e* together function

5 Note that *hik* is possibly an Indo-Aryan borrowing.

6 Also compare *cum* 'from' which could be derived from /ce+-um/.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

like a modifier (designated as "modifier" with a lowercase "m"). Consider the examples in (10) for illustration:

(10) Compound nouns: [$Noun_1$ + $Noun_2$]

a. *tilaa* *doro*
tila-e doro
silk-GEN work
'silk(thread)-work'

b. *guuru* *mulčine dasin*
guuru mu-lčin-e dasin
blue 3FSG-eye-GEN girl
'the blue-eyed girl' / 'the girl with blue eyes'

c. *usku* *yuuṭiŋe* *haɣur*
usku i-uṭi-ŋ-e haɣur
three.[–H] 3SG-leg-PL-GEN horse
'the horse with three legs' / 'the three-legged horse'

A schematic representation of a typical [Noun+Noun] compound noun such as (10-a) is provided in Figure 9.

The examples in (10-b) and (10-c) above involve compounding of a Noun Phrase and another noun, the latter acting as the head of the new compound. The modifying NP, in turn, contains a modifier (Adjective) and a head noun (i.e., $Noun_1$). This is a slightly more complex compound noun than the one

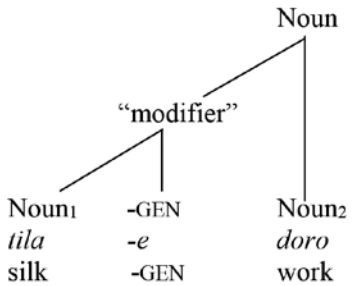


FIGURE 9 Structure of a typical [Noun + Noun] compound noun

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

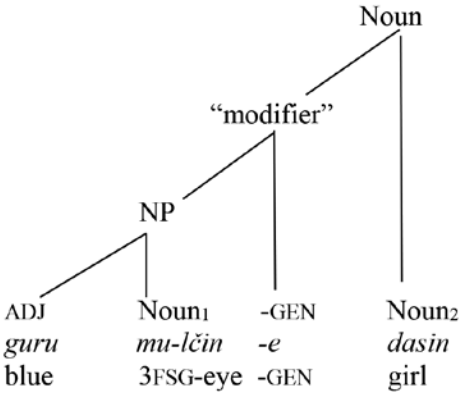


FIGURE 10 Structure of a complex [Noun + Noun] compound noun

in (10-a). A schematic representation of the compound noun in (10-b) is provided in Figure 10.

There are different types of [Adjective + Noun] compounds in SB, some of which are simple while others are complex. One such case is where a modifying adjective itself may be the outcome of a derivational process whereby an adjective is derived from a verb by suffixation. The latter involves the addition of the adjective-marking (nominalizing) suffix *-um*. Thus, the compound nouns in the following examples in (11) are modified by Adjectival Phrases (APs), each containing an NP and an Adjective (the latter, in turn, derived from a verb):

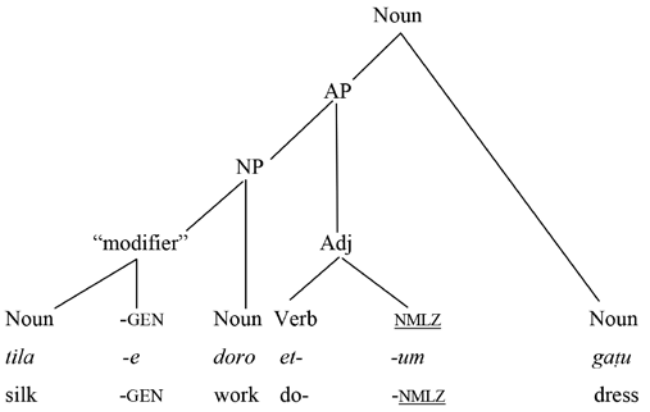
(11) Compound nouns: [Adjective + Noun]

a. *ni-m* *den*
ni-um den
go-NMLZ year
'last year' / 'the year which is gone'

b. *tilaa* *doro* *etum* *gaṭu*
tila-e doro et-um gaṭu
silk-GEN work do-NMLZ dress
'the dress made with silk(thread)-work'

c. *matum* *gaṭu* *yoolum* *hilas*
matum gaṭu yool-um hilas
black clothing 3SG.wear-NMLZ boy
'the boy in black clothing'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access



'the silk-worked dress' (Or 'the dress with silk-work')

FIGURE 11 Structure of a complex [Adjective + Noun] compound noun

A schematic representation of (11-b) is given in Figure 11.

SB also employs borrowed strategies for the formation of [Adjective + Noun] compounds. Consider the examples in (12).

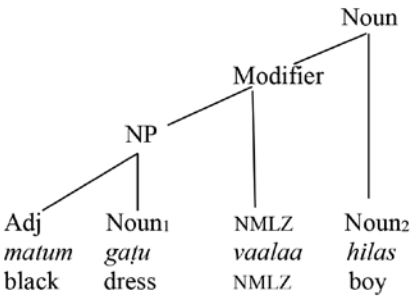
(12) Borrowed [Adjective + Noun] compounds in SB

a. *baɣaire* *ɣašarum* *mamu*
baɣaire ɣašarum mamu
without sweet milk
'sugarless milk' / 'the milk without sugar'

b. *matum* *gaṭu-vaalaa* *hilas*
matum gaṭu-vaalaa hilas
black dress-NMLZ boy
'the black-dressed boy' / 'the boy in black clothes'

In (12-a), a modifying adjective is preceded by a borrowed preposition *baɣaire* 'without' (cf. Urdu *baɣair*) and the two together function like a modifier to the head noun *mamu* 'milk'. In (12-b), the nominalizing suffix *vaalaa*, which is a very common adjective-forming morpheme in Hindi-Urdu, is used on the borrowed pattern to form a modifying adjective. Thus, the NP *matum gaṭu* 'black dress' is first made into an adjective by the addition of the adjective-forming morpheme *vaalaa*. This derived adjective modifies *hilas* 'boy', the head of the compound noun. A schematic representation of this is given in Figure 12.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access



'the black-dressed boy' / 'the boy in black dress/clothes'

FIGURE 12 Structure of a complex [Noun + Noun] compound noun

SB also forms compound nouns of the type [Verb + Noun]. This is done by preposing a verb in infinitival form to the head noun. The verb in the Infinitive form acts like a modifier to the head noun. Consider the examples in (13):

(13) [Verb + Noun] Nominal Compounds

a. *ẓuyas* *den*
ẓuy-as den
come-INF year
'(the) coming year, next year'

b. *pʰur* *delase* *balac*
pʰur del-as-e balac
flight hit-INF-GEN bird
'a flying bird' / 'a bird able to fly'

c. *pʰur* *au* *delase* *balac*
pʰur au- del-as -e balac
flight NEG- hit-INF-GEN bird
'a non-flying bird' / 'a bird unable to fly'

Both simple and compound verbs can be used in such compounds. Thus, we have a simple verb such as *ẓuyas* 'coming' in (13-a), and a compound verb such as *pʰur delas* 'to fly; flying' and *pʰur au delas* 'to not fly; not flying' in (13-b) and (13-c).

There are some [Verb + Verb] nominal compounds which behave like nouns in that they take an Indefinite article *-an* (used for Indefinite Singular nouns) which is otherwise only used for nouns. Consider the examples in (14) as follows:

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(14) [Verb + Verb] Nominal Compounds

a. *nɨyas-ʐuyasan*
ni-as-ʐu-as-an
go-INF-come-INF-SG.NDEF
'(act of) coming and going; visiting in general'

b. *ʂɨyas-minaasan*
ʂi-as-min-aas-an
eat-INF-drink-INF-SG.NDEF
'food and drink; food and drink in general'

Compound nouns like those in (14) above are also found in some areal languages such as Kashmiri and Urdu.[7]

A large number of phrasal verbs are formed of a [Noun + Verb] complex via a process which can be viewed as compounding. Most of these verbal constructions involve a light verb such as *et-* 'do', *man-* 'become/exist', etc. To this verb is added a modifying noun which contributes to the semantic content of the derived (phrasal) verb. Consider the examples in (15):

(15) Light Verb Compounds: [Noun + Verb]

a. *doro* *etas*
doro et-as
work do-INF
'to work'

b. *rax* *etas*
rax et-as
desire do-INF
'to want/wish'

c. *lip* *etas*
lip et-as
throw do-INF
'to throw (away)'

7 Consider, for instance, Kashmiri *yun-gacʰun* or Urdu *aana-ǰaana* 'coming-going; visiting (someone) regulary'.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

d. *daal* *etas*
daal et-as
up(side) do-INF
'to lift (something)'

e. *pʰar* *manaas*
pʰar mana-as
back become-INF
'to return; to be back'

f. *tam* *delas*
tam del-as
dive (n.) beat-INF
'to swim; to dive; to take a bath'

g. *pʰur* *delas*
pʰur del-as
flight (Onom.) beat-INF
'to fly'

Note that phrasal verbs of the type [Noun + (Light) Verb] are not unique to Burushaski and are very common cross-linguistically, especially in the areal context.

6.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is a very productive derivational process, not only in Burushaski but in most South Asian languages (see Abbi 1992). Reduplication of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions and even verbs is possible. Besides cases of complete and partial reduplication, there are also instances of complex reduplication which involve various phonological processes in addition to simple reduplication.

Some of the very frequently occurring nominal forms (viz., nouns, adjectives, and adverbs) involving complete reduplication attested in SB are given in (16)-(18) (the reduplicated form is designated as "RED"):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(16) Complete Reduplication: Nouns
a. *tʰap-tʰap-mo*
night-RED-LOC[8]
'every night, for the entire night'

b. *bar-bar*
utterance-RED
'each and every utterance'

c. *ram-ram et-*
flap-RED do-
'(to) flap (one's wings)'

d. *menan-menan*
who-RED
'whoever' / 'who all'

e. *besan-besan*
what-RED
'whatever' / 'what all'

(17) Complete Reduplication: Adjectives
a. *ǰoṭruko-ǰoṭruko*
small-RED
'fairly small'

b. *uyum-uyum*
big-RED
'fairly big'

(18) Complete Reduplication: Adverbs
a. *ilǰi-ilǰi*
behind-RED
'continuously behind'

b. *tʰalaa-tʰalaa*
slowly-RED
'fairly slowly/gradually'

8 Note that *-mo* here is not the same as the (feminine) genitive suffix *-mo*.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *ḍuum-ḍuum*[9]
turn (n.)-RED
'again and again'

d. *kaa-kaa*
with-RED
'fairly close together'

e. *bešal-bešal*
when-RED
'when and how many times'

Notice in the examples in (16)–(18) above, there is a certain semantic consistency involved in the derivations and the meanings entail some kind of group reading.

Partial reduplication of various forms is found in SB where the first consonant of the reduplicated form is different from that of the base.[10] Consider the examples in (19):

(19) Partial Reduplication: Nouns
a. *tam-lam*
thunder-RED
'thunder and lightning, etc.'

b. *tiṣ-miṣ*
wind-RED
'wind, etc.'

c. *qiriw-piriw*
Onom-RED
'noise (of birds), etc.'

d. *liiki-ṣiiki*[11]
'unimportant things, etc.' / 'this and that (nonsense)'

9 Compare HB *ḍuuŋ-ḍuuŋ*.
10 A common term used for partial reduplication is "echo-reduplication".
11 The meaning of the individual components in the constructions in (18-d) and (18-e) was not clear to the native speaker.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Note that in example (19-d) above, it is not clear what the base is here, as the meaning of the individual components is not known; none of the individual components are used independently of each other. Another similar example is *xiṣ-xaaṣ* 'slow movement', where neither component is used in isolation.

There are some cases of adjective reduplication in SB which are slightly more complicated and less productive. One such case is of the form [X-Conjunction-X] where "X" is an adjective. Consider the examples in (20):

(20) Complex Reduplication of Adjectives

a. *loṭ-ke-loṭ*
(head) naked-COMP-RED
'with head completely naked'

b. *čʰu-ke-čʰu*
(feet) naked-COMP-RED
'with feet completely bare'

c. *han-ke-han*
one.[−H, I]-COMP-RED
'one and only one; [−H, I]'

d. *hin-ke-hin*
one.[+H]-COMP-RED
'one and only one (all alone)'

Another form of nominal reduplication very common in SB is based on an established pattern in other areal languages including Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri. Here reduplication takes place by copying the base (generally a noun), deleting the initial consonant (if any), and substituting *v-* as the onset of the reduplicated form. This is quite different from HB and NB, where the initial consonant in RED is typically *m-* in unmarked forms. Consider the examples in (21):

(21) Partial Reduplication in nouns based on an areal pattern

a. *gaṭuŋ-vaṭuŋ*
clothes-RED
'clothes and the like'

b. *ṣapik-vapik*
food-RED
'food and the like'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. *ɣataaŋ-vataaŋ*
swords-RED
'swords and the like'

d. *čaɣaan-vaɣaan*
[utterance-SG.NDEF]-RED
'conversations/stories and the like'

Notice in (21-d) above, the indefinite article *-an* is reduplicated along with the base noun.

Many reduplicated forms – nouns as well as adjectives – frequently used in SB are direct borrowings from Kashmiri and Urdu. Consider the examples in (22):

(22) Borrowed reduplicated forms

a. *alag-alag* (Borrowed from Urdu/Kashmiri; Complete reduplication)
separate-RED
'each one separately'

b. *bat-vat* (Borrowed from Kashmiri; partial reduplication)
rice-RED
'rice, etc.'

c. *qism-aa-qism* (Borrowed as such from Urdu/Kashmiri; also *qism-ba-qism*)
type-[?]-RED
'of many different types'

Reduplication is also quite common in verbs. Almost any verb can be reduplicated in the progressive aspect to indicate a state of continuity (and repetition) of a particular action. Only complete reduplication is observed in verbs. Consider the examples in (23):

(23) Verb Reduplication

a. *eegiçumane-eegiçumane*
eegiçu-mane-RED
[3SG.SOW.IPFV-happen]-RED
'(while) sowing continuously'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. *yeešumane-yeešumane*
yeešu-mane-RED
see.IPFV-happen-RED
'(while) seeing continuously'

c. *ṣiçumane-ṣiçumane*
ṣiçu-mane-RED
[eat.IPFV-happen]-RED
'(while) eating continuously'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

CHAPTER 7

Dialectal Comparison

Although many independent studies on the different dialects of Burushaski have been undertaken, detailed and extensive studies on Burushaski dialectology are yet to be conducted. Varma (1941) is perhaps the first serious resource on Burushaski dialectology, focusing on dialectal differences between the Hunza and the Nagar varieties. Studying the dialectal differences and applying the comparative method may help reveal a lot about the linguistic developments of the language yet to be fully understood. This chapter focuses on the dialectal differences between SB and other regional varieties of Burushaski. Many differences are phonological and lexical in nature. There are, however, a significant number of differences in terms of morpho-syntax as well. As maintained earlier, SB is a sub-dialect of Nagar Burushaski and is closest to it in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. Yet, owing to over a century of independent and isolated development, it differs from NB as well as from the other dialects in various aspects, as we will see in the following sections.

7.1 Phonological Differences

Phonological differences are among some of the most pronounced differences between the various dialects of Burushaski. The comparisons provided below are based on the data collected by the author as well as the available data in previous studies.

7.1.1 *Phonological Differences between Yasin and Other Dialects*

Among vowels, there is an [e] ~ [i] variation between Yasin and the other dialects in certain phonological environments. Thus, in post-consonantal positions the Yasin dialect has an [e] as opposed to [i] in the other dialects.[1] Consider the data in (1) for illustration:

1 Note that in all the examples in (1), YB /e/ is followed by an alveolar consonant; one exception is the initial /i/ in *iren*. It is not clear if this is coincidental.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2019 | DOI:10.1163/9789004387898_008
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(1) [e] ~ [i] variation between Yasin and other dialects

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
hen	hin	hin	hin	'one [+H]'
ceł~cʰeł	cʰil	cʰil	cʰil	'water'
cer	cʰir	cʰir	cʰir	'line, queue'
dasen	dasin	dasin	dasin	'girl'
iren	iriiŋ	iriiŋ	iriŋ	'his hand'
yaṭes	yaṭis	yaṭis	yaṭis	'(his) head'
kʰen	kʰin	kʰin	kʰin	'this (person)'
ses	sis	sis	sis	'person'
beṛkul	bilkul	bilkul	bilkul	'absolutely' (< Ur. *bilkul*)

There are also some other phonological differences in vowels between Yasin and other dialects for which sufficient data are not available at this point. For instance, [i] ~ [u] and [u] ~ [i] variation between Yasin and other dialects in (2-a) and (2-b), respectively, in the following examples:

(2) Other phonological differences in vowels

a. YB [u] ~ HB/NB/SB [i]

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
kʰumo	kʰinmo	kʰinmo	kʰinmo	'this woman's'
nukirmin[2]	nikirmin	nikirmin	nikirmin	'written (PTCP)'
dułum	bilum	dilum	dilum	'was; [–H, II]'
dua	bila	dila	dila	'is; [–H, II]'

b. YB [i] ~ HB/NB/SB [u]

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
bia	bua	bua	bua	'cow'

Furthermore, data from YB reveal vowel deletion in initial position in some (but not all) words. Consider the data in (3) for illustration:

(3) Deletion of vowels in initial position in Yasin Burushaski

	YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
a.	ne	in	in(e)	in(e)	'he'
	we	u(w)e	u(w)e	u(w)e	'those; [+H]'
	se	es	es(e)	es(e)	'that; [–H, I]'
	ce	ice	ec(e)	ec(e)	'those; [–H, I]'

2 From Berger 1974: 60.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b.	eke	ike	eke	eke	'those; [−H, II]'
	iske	isken	isken	isken	'three; [+H]'

That vowel deletion is sensitive to phonological and lexical constraints is revealed by the data in (3-b) above. Thus, we do not have **ke* 'those; [−H, II]', perhaps because that would be homophonous with the conjunction/complementizer *ke*. Similarly, this apheresis is not permitted in /isken/ 'three' because the resulting initial cluster in **ske*(*n*)/**skin* would violate the phonotactic constraints of the language.

As far as consonants are concerned, a number of differences are observed in data from various dialects. Thus, aspirated voiceless affricates in Hunza, Nagar, and Srinagar Burushaski correspond to unaspirated ones in the Yasin dialect. Consider the data in (4) for illustration:

(4) [C] ~ [C^{h}] variation in affricates in Yasin and other dialects

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
ceł~c^{h}eł	c^{h}il	c^{h}il	c^{h}il	'water'
cer	c^{h}ir	c^{h}ir	c^{h}ir	'line, queue'
coor	c^{h}oor	c^{h}oor	c^{h}oor	'soon, quickly'
ciyer	c^{h}i(y)ir	c^{h}igir	c^{h}igir	'female goat (ibex)'
gucar-	guc^{h}ar-	guc^{h}ar-	guc^{h}ar-	'walk'
čaɣurum	č^{h}aɣurum	č^{h}aɣurum	č^{h}aɣurum	'cold'
čaṭ	č^{h}aṭ	č^{h}aṭ	č^{h}aṭ	'small'[3]
ṣin	ṣ^{h}in	ṣ^{h}in	ṣ^{h}in	'sparrow'
ṣur	ṣ^{h}ur	ṣ^{h}ur	ṣ^{h}ur	'knife'
maṣii	maṣ^{h}ii	maṣ^{h}ii	maṣ^{h}i	'honey'

This kind of variation is not found with respect to voiceless stops, however. Thus, aspirated voiceless stops in HB, NB, and SB correspond to aspirated stops in YB. Consider the data in (5) for illustration:

(5) No [C] ~ [C^{h}] variation in voiceless stops

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
k^{h}an	k^{h}an	k^{h}an	k^{h}an	'fort'
k^{h}apun	k^{h}apun	k^{h}apun	k^{h}apun	'spoon'
k^{h}ači	k^{h}ači	k^{h}ači	k^{h}ači	'bucket'
ak^{h}i, ak^{h}il	ak^{h}i, ak^{h}il	ak^{h}i, ak^{h}ilne	ak^{h}i, ak^{h}ilne	'like this'
p^{h}areṣ	p^{h}ariṣ	p^{h}ariṣ	p^{h}ariṣ	'duck'

3 Note that *č^{h}aṭ~čaṭ* 'small' could be an Indo-Aryan loan (cf. Hindi/Urdu *č^{h}oṭaa* 'small').

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

pʰalo	pʰalo	pʰalo	pʰalo	‘fruit’
pʰat et-	pʰat et-	pʰat et-	pʰat et-	‘finish’
tʰam	tʰam	tʰam	tʰam	‘king’
tʰale	tʰale	tʰale	tʰale	‘seven’

An important difference between the consonantal inventories of SB, HB, and NB on the one hand and YB on the other is the presence of certain approximants in YB lost in the other dialects. Thus, while HB, NB, and SB have one lateral consonant /l/ with only one surface representation (i.e. [l]), there are three phonetically distinct laterals in YB: a simple/clear voiced lateral approximant [l], a heavy or dark voiced lateral approximant represented as [ɬ], and a voiceless lateral approximant represented as [l̥] in this study. Note that the distinction between [l] and [ɬ] is phonemic (cf. YB [mal] ‘animal’ and [mał] ‘agricultural field’), but only [ɬ] occurs intervocalically. The distribution of [l̥], however, is more restricted and predictable. Thus, [l̥] only occurs post-vocalically before a voiceless stop (e.g., YB [mal̥taṣ] ‘butter’, [baal̥t] ‘apple’, etc.) and is assumed to be an allophone of /l/. Another similar case is that of the vibrant approximants. There are two vibrants in YB: voiced alveolar [r] and voiceless alveolar [r̥] (a distinction not found in the other dialects, including SB). The latter (i.e., voiceless alveolar [r̥]) only occurs post-vocally followed by a voiceless consonant (e.g., YB [daṛ̥kut] ‘Darkut (place name)’, [baṛ̥kaš] ‘traditional weighing tool’, [šaṛ̥pʰat] ‘promptly’, etc.). All of these distinctions found in YB are no longer attested in SB or its closer relatives (NB and HB). This is illustrated by the data in (6):

(6) Approximants in YB lost in other dialects

a. Data illustrating [l] ~ [ɬ] ~ [l̥] variation in YB absent from other dialects

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
mal	–	–	–	‘animal’
mał	mal	mal	mal	‘(agricultural) field’
muuł	muul	muul	muul	‘her stomach’
muło	mulo	mulo	mulo	‘turnip’
łeł	leel	leel	leel	‘knowledge’
łuṣçum	luçum	luẓum	luẓum	‘pearl’
mul̥tan	multan	multan	multan	‘blood’
baal̥t	baalt	baalt	baalt	‘apple’
lal̥ṭen	lalṭen	lalṭen	lalṭen	‘lantern’

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. Data illustrating [r] ~ [r̥] variation in YB absent from other dialects

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
bar	bar	bar	bar	'talk (n.)'
rupaya	rupaya	rupaya	rupaya	'Rupee(s)' (loanword)
arar	arar	–	–	'my son-in-law'
daṛkuṭ	darkuṭ	darkuṭ	darkuṭ	'Darkut; place name'
baṛkotli	barkotli	barkotli	barkotli	'Barkotli; place name'

Note that [r] and [r̥] do not contrast in YB and are, therefore, assumed to be allophonic variants of a single underlying phoneme /r/.

Furthermore, some of the consonants lost in SB, NB and HB owing to various diachronic changes are retained in YB. Thus, we have SB/NB *luẓum* 'pearl', HB *luçum* and YB *luṣçum* 'pearl' (notice the deletion of *ç* in HB/NB/SB and voicing of *ṣ* to *ẓ* in NB/SB); and SB/NB/HB *muutu~muuto* and YB *amutuk* 'now' (note the deletion of word-final *k* in HB/NB/SB).

7.1.2 *Phonological Differences between Hunza and Nagar/Srinagar Dialects*

While there are many phonological differences between Nagar and Hunza dialects, most of the Nagar forms are retained in the Srinagar variety.

Among vowels, there is [u] ~ [o] variation between SB/NB and HB forms in unstressed final vowels, but [o] ~ [u] variation between SB/NB and HB forms in unstressed non-final vowels. Consider the examples in (7-a) and (7-b) respectively:

(7) Vowel alterations between SB/NB and HB

a. [u] ~ [o] variation in unstressed final vowels

SB	NB	HB	Gloss
muutu	muutu	muuto	'now' (cf. YB *amutuk*)
hikultu	hikultu	hikulto	'one day'
baraa-lu	baraa-ulu	baraa-ulo	'concerning/ regarding'
zamaanaa-lu	zamaanaa-ulu	zamaanaa-ulo	'during (a certain time/period)'

b. [o] ~ [u] variation in unstressed non-final vowels

SB	NB	HB	Gloss
doro	doro	duro	'work' (cf. YB *doro*)
oyoon	oyoon	uyoon	'all/entire'
inmore	inmore	inmur	'to her (Dative)'
gusmore	gusmore	gusmur	'to the woman (Dative)'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Note that there are inter-speaker variations in each dialect. Thus, in addition to the forms above, we also find variants such as NB *kam*(*a*)*raa-ulo* 'in the room' and *manzil-ulo* 'in the storey/floor' (see Skyhawk 2003: 385, 386) as opposed to SB *kamraa-lu* 'in the room' and *manzil-ulo* 'in the storey/floor'.

Like NB, vowel sequences [au] and [ei] are generally retained as such in SB (except in some cases, for example, the plural ending *-ainc* ~ *-eenc* cited in the previous chapter). In HB, on the other hand, these two sequences are assimilated to [oo] and [ee], respectively, if the accent is on the second element. Recent data from NB also show evidence of vowel assimilation. Consider the examples in (8) and (9) as follows (possible underlying forms are designated as "UF"):

(8) Vowel assimilation in the Hunza dialect[4]

HB	NB	SB	UF	Gloss
ooyar	auyar	auyar	/a-uyar/	'my husband'
ooṭis	auṭis	auṭis	/a-uṭis/	'my foot'
oolus	aulus	a-ulus	/a-ulus/	'my (woman's) brother'
oo-ni	au ni	au ni	/au ni/	'don't go'
oo-sen	au sen	au sen	/au sen/	'don't speak'
oo-manimi	au manimi	au manimi	/au manimi/	'didn't happen/become'
teelar	teilar	teilare	/teilare/	'there/thither'

(9) Vowel assimilation in Nagar and Hunza dialects

a. HB: *elar* *oo-* *ni*
there NEG- go.IMP.SG
'Don't go there'

SB: *ele* *au-* *ni*
there NEG- go.IMP.SG
'Don't go there'

b. NB: *oo-* *mayi* *bi*
NEG- happen.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H]
'(it) does not happen'
(Berger 1998, vol. 2: 196)

4 Note that NB forms cited here are based on data in Varma (1941).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

NB: *umer* *šaar* *etas* *oo-man-imi*
you.DAT forgive do.INF NEG-happen-PST.3SG
'You cannot be forgiven'

SB: *au-* *may* *bi*
NEG- happen. IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H]
'(it) does not happen'

c. HB: *ǰaa* *hin-ce* *ooru*[5]
my door-at NEG.sit.IMP.SG
'Don't stay at my door'

SB: *ele* *au-* *huruṭ*
there NEG- sit.IMP.SG
'Don't sit/stay there'

d. NB: *oo-* *dumoo* *bom*
NEG- come.3FSG be.PST.3FSG
'She had not come'
(Berger 1998, vol. 2: 198)

SB: *ruqsaana-∅* *au-* *dumoomo*
Ruqsana-ABS NEG- come.PST.3FSG
'Ruqsana did not come'

e. NB: *ma-s* *oo-* *gusiin*
2PL-heart NEG- lose.IMP.PL
'Don't lose your heart'
(Berger 1998, vol. 2: 270)

SB: *gu-s* *au-* *gusiin*[6]
2SG-heart NEG- lose.IMP.PL
'Don't lose your heart' / 'Don't be afraid'
(From the story *Loi ke biiro*)

5 Note that in HB *ooru* (< the underlying form /au-huruṭ/) has also undergone final consonant deletion.

6 Notice the use of the Imperative Plural ending with Second Person Singular. This may just be the result of a false start, or a prestige form.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

The data in (8) above show that the Nagar dialect has also retained the vowel sequences, at least until some point after the separation of SB from its parent dialect (which was in 1891–92). This is indicated by the NB forms from Varma (1941) and also from recent data collected as part of this study (e.g., NB *pʰaš au-mani bi* 'it has not vanished'). Data from (9) reveal that the vowel contractions have also affected the speech of some of the Nagar Burushos, perhaps owing to contact with the speakers of HB especially in Gilgit city. More examples of vowel assimilation from NB in Berger (1998, vol. 2) are: *oo-duvaasi biyo* '(they [–H, I]) did not remain', *oo-may bila* '(it.[–H, II]) does not happen', *oo-še-mo* '(she) did not eat', etc.[7] Data from Skyhawk (2003), based on the Nagar dialect, also include the *oo*-forms (as opposed to *au*-forms). Given the fact that the data in Varma (1941) are much older than those in Berger (1998), it is claimed that the vowel assimilation has affected the Nagar dialect after the Hunza dialect. The innovative *oo*-forms were not attested in the given corpus of SB, while the conservative *au*-forms were very frequently used. It is important to note here that the texts in Berger (1998, vol. 2) claimed to be from Nagar speakers also reveal some features which are typical of the Hunza dialect. For instance, the use of *bila* 'be.PRES.[–H, II]', *un* 'you (Singular)', instead of the expected forms, viz., *dila* 'be.PRES.[–H, II]', *um* 'you (Singular)', the latter being characteristic of the Nagar dialect (see Varma 1941; Berger 1998, vol. 3: 456). These similarities between HB and NB (and not SB) could be attributed to convergence owing to more recent language contact.

Some consonants deleted (or mutated) in the Hunza dialect, are preserved in the other dialects. Consider the examples in (10) for illustration:

(10) Consonant deletion in HB

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
ciyer	cʰiir ~ cʰigir	cʰigir	cʰigir	'goat'
huruṭ	huru	huruṭ	huruṭ	'sit; IMPER.SG'
–	ray	–	raq~rax	'desire'

Thus, in (10) above the intervocalic [g] in /cʰigir/ and the word-final [ṭ] and [q]/[x] in /huruṭ/ and /raq/ (respectively) are deleted or weakened in HB but generally retained in SB (and the other dialects).

7 The English translations for data from Berger (1998) are done by the author. Berger's original translations are in German. Any errors in translation, therefore, are entirely due to the author.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

7.1.3 *Phonological Differences between SB and Other Dialects*

As a result of language contact and change, SB has developed various phonological differences with respect to the other dialects. One such example is medial vowel syncope in sequences of open syllables of the type CV (or CVV). Consider the data in (11) for illustration (note: the syllable boundary is designated by a dot "."):

(11) Medial Vowel Syncope in SB

SB	NB	HB	YB	Gloss
bur.šaas.ki	bu.ru.šas.ki	bu.ru.šas.ki	bu.ru.šaas.ki	'Burushaski'
ṣʰam.ni	ṣʰa.mi.ni	ṣʰa.mi.ne	ṣʰam	'hungry'
am.li	a.mu.li	a.mu.li/a.mu.lo	a.ne	'where'
mak.čim	ma.ku.čim	ma.ku.čim	ma.ku.čum	'middle (one)'
ba.raa.-lu	ba.raa.-u.lu	ba.raa.-u.lu	ba.raa.-u.łe	'in regard to'
beer.maan	beu.ru.maan	bee.ru.man	bee.rum	'how much'
a.kʰoor.maan	a.kʰuu.ru.maan	a.kʰu.ru.man	a.kʰu.rum	'so much'
toor.mo	too.ru.mo	too.ru.mo	too.rum	'ten'

Note that in examples in (11) above, vowel syncope in SB forms occurs in unstressed syllables.

Certain vowel sequences which are assimilated in SB may not be in the Nagar dialect. Such assimilation may also be found in the Hunza dialect, but is most likely independent. Consider the data in (12) for illustration:

(12) Assimilation of vowel sequences [eu], [oa], and [au] in SB

a. [au] > [aa] in SB

SB	HB	Gloss
hisaalu	hisa-ulu	'in a/one month'
baaraalu	baaraa-ulu	'with regard to'

b. [oa] > [oo] in SB

SB	HB	Gloss
ṣʰišḳooṭe	čʰišḳo-aṭe	'on the mountains'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

c. [eu] > [ee], [oo] in SB, NB and HB

SB	NB	HB	Gloss
beermaan	beurumaan	beurum	'how much'
~boormaan	~beeruman	~beerum	'how much'
	~boorumaan		
toormaan	teurumaan	teurumaan	'that/as much'
~tooraan	~teerum	~teerum(aan)	(cf. YB tawurum)

Notice in (12-c) above we have SB *beermaan ~ boormaan, toormaan ~ tooraan*, etc., as opposed to NB *beurumaan ~ boormaan, teurumaan*, etc. where the vowel sequence [eu] is monophthongized into [ee] and [oo] in some cases. This kind of monophthongization is also observed in the HB forms, but there are forms where monophthongization has not taken place (leading to inter-speaker variation). In (12-a) and (12-b), however, the monophthongized forms are available in SB but not in HB. It is therefore clear that monophthongization is a recent development in SB.

Some other dialectal differences of interest are the different ways in which lexical borrowings are phonologically nativized. For example, a final [a] of Urdu loans may surface as [o] in some cases (but not all) in the Hunza and Nagar dialects. Consider the examples in (13):

(13) [o] ~ [a] variation in loanwords from Urdu

HB	NB	SB	Urdu	Gloss
ǰaalo (~ǰaala)	ǰaalo (~ǰaala)	ǰaala	ǰaala	'cobweb' (cf. YB. *ǰaali*)
ayino (~ayina)	ayino (~ayina)	ayina	aayiina	'mirror' (cf. YB. *guru*)

Notice in (13) above, we have two variants, [o] and [a], for each word in HB and NB. The [a] forms in parentheses are very likely attested assuming various degrees of bilingualism in Urdu among Burushaski speakers, and, therefore, expected as a result. The [o] forms are assumed to be old lexical borrowings which were phonologically integrated at a very early stage; these are not attested in the SB corpus. The loanwords in question were probably (re-)borrowed at a later stage in SB without nativization.

There is [p] ~ [b] variation in lexical borrowings in Hunza-Nagar and Srinagar varieties. Consider the examples in (14):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(14) [p] ~ [b] variation in lexical borrowings

HB-NB	SB	Urdu	Gloss
xaraap~xaraab	xaraab	xaraab	'bad'
xupsurat~xubsurat	xubsurat	xuubsuurat	'beautiful'
asbaap~asbaab	asbaab	asbaab	'reasons'
adap~adab	adab	adab	'respect'
nasiip~nasiib	nasiib	nasiib	'luck'
darpadar~darbadar	darbɨdar	darbadar	'wandering' (Cf. K. darbɨdar)

Thus, syllable-final /b/ in lexical borrowings from Urdu or Persian surfaces as [p] in HB and NB, but as [b] in SB; one exception is HB/NB *darpadar* where devoicing occurs in the onset position. Besides the [p] forms, [b] forms are also available for some speakers of Hunza-Nagar Burushaski, as illustrated by forms with [b] variants in (14) above. These are prestige forms generally used in the formal speech of people of higher social status or the educated class. There are some examples (very few) in SB also where [b] and [p] fluctuate, such as *kitaap* ~ *kitaab* 'book' (< Ur. *kitaap*). Such cases are assumed to be lexical borrowings which were nativized at an earlier stage but are being re-established in SB through renewed contact.

Many lexical borrowings have been nativized differently in the Pakistani dialects. Consider the examples in (15) and (16), where we have [r]~[l] and [m]~[b] variation for /r/ and /m/, respectively, in lexical borrowings:

(15) Lexical borrowings: [r] ~ [l] variation between SB and HB-NB

SB	HB-NB	Gloss
zaruurat (~zaruurat)	zaruulat	'need' (cf. K., Ur. zaruurat, from Persian/Arabic)

(16) Lexical borrowings: [m] ~ [b] variation

SB	HB-NB	Gloss
tamaam	tabaam (~tamaam)	'all, entire' (cf. Ur., K. tamaam, from Persian)
mubaarak	bubaarak (~mubaarak)	'congratulations' (cf. K., Ur. mubaarak, from Arabic)

Notice in (15) above, both [r] and [l] forms are available in HB and NB, while only [r] forms are attested in SB. Similarly, both [m] and [b] forms are available in HB and NB, while only [m] forms are attested in SB. It is likely that the nasals in these borrowings were substituted with voiced stops. Since [m] would

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

tend to be restored by re-borrowing and owing to continued exposure to the source language, it appears the [b] forms may be hypercorrections.

There are also some other minor phonological differences between SB and other dialects, such as HB *magam* vs. SB *magar* 'but' (from Urdu *magar*), which seem to be idiosyncratic.

7.1.4 *Morphophonological Differences*

In personal pronouns and demonstratives, the deletion of an initial vowel has taken place in the Yasin dialect. In the Hunza dialect, final vowel deletion has taken place in the corresponding lexical items. In the Nagar and Srinagar dialect, both initial and final vowels are retained. There are inter-speaker variations, however, in that some NB and SB speakers retain the final vowels while others do not. Consider the data in (17) as follows:

(17) Vowel deletions: Personal Pronouns in Absolutive Case

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
ne	in	in(e)	in(e)	'he'
te	et	it(e), et(e)	et(e)	'that (thing); [–H, II]'
we	u(w)e	u(w)e	u(w)e	'those; [+H]'
se	es	ise, es(e)	es(e)	'that; [–H, I]'
ce	ice	ec(e)	ec(e)	'those; [–H, I]'

Note that the SB Absolutive forms in (17) above should be distinguished from the Genitive/Ergative forms where the final vowel is stressed and cannot be deleted.

Final vowels are also deleted in nominals in the Dative case in HB, but retained in NB and SB. Some speakers of the Nagar dialect also delete final vowels in the Dative case. Consider the examples in (18) for illustration:

(18) Final vowel deletion in Hunza: {*-r*} ~ {*-re*} variation in Dative forms[8]

HB	NB	SB	YB	Gloss
ǰaar ~ aar	ǰaar(e) ~ aar	ǰaare	ǰaɣa	'to me'
meer,	(miire)	miire	miɣa	'to us'
goor	umer(e), goor	umere	goɣa	'to you (Sg.)'
maar	maar(e)	maare	maɣa	'to you (Pl.)'
eer	inar(e)	inare	neɣa	'to him'
inmor ~ moor	inmor(e)	inmore	moɣa	'to her'
uar ~ oor	uure	uure	weɣa	'to them'
eser	esere	esere	–	'to it; [–H, I]'

8 Note that forms in parentheses are from secondary sources.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Notice in (18) above, for the First Person Singular, two forms, viz., {a} ~ {ǰa} (in *aar* and *ǰaar* 'to me') are available in the data from HB and NB, but the {a-} form is not attested in SB. Thus, in SB we only have *ǰaare* 'to me' (< /ǰa-e-re/ '1SG-GEN-DAT'). Similarly, for the Third Person Singular Feminine, HB has *inmor~moor* 'to her', while for SB *inmore* 'to her' (< /in-mo-re/ '3SG-GEN.F-DAT') is attested; NB has *inmore~inmor*. It is important to note that *ǰa* (*~ǰe*) '1SG' and *in* '3SG' (in *ǰaar*(*e*) and *in-ere/in-more*) are free morphemes, while *a-* '1SG', *gu-* '2SG' and *mo-*'3FSG' (in *aar* 'to me', *goor/guar* 'to you', and *moor* 'to her') are bound morphemes (i.e., pronominal prefixes). Thus, we have two different forms (from two separate roots) available for the First and Second Person Singular. That NB forms are closer to HB forms than to SB forms can be explained by the intense contact between HB and NB in Gilgit city, where some of the recordings for this study were made. The forms in YB further strengthen the argument that SB forms are more conservative. Also note that the Dative Case ending in YB is {-ɣa} (as opposed to {-r} or {-re} in the other dialects), which points to the fact that the HB (and some NB) forms have undergone final vowel deletion.

There is a [g] vs. [kʰ] variation across dialects in the demonstrative pronouns. Thus, while most speakers of YB and HB use the [g] forms, a majority of NB speakers use the [kʰ] forms. SB speakers, however, only use the [kʰ] forms. Consider the data in (19) as follows:

(19) [g] ~ [kʰ] variation in demonstrative pronouns

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
guse	gus(e)~ kʰos	kʰos(e)~gus(e)	kʰos(e)	'this [–H, I]'
guce	guc(e)~ kʰoc	kʰoc(e)~guc(e)	kʰoc(e)	'these [–H, I]'
gute	gut(e)~ kʰot	kʰot(e)~ gut(e)	kʰot(e)	'this [–H, II]'
guke	guk(e)~kʰok	kʰok(e)	kʰok(e)	'these [–H, II]'

Notice in (19) above, the inter-speaker variation in HB and NB could be attributed to more recent contact between the speakers of these two dialects resulting in convergence. SB being a sub-dialect of NB, I assume that the [kʰ] forms are representative of NB, while the [g] forms are characteristic of YB. It seems to me that the [g] variants in HB and NB may be a recent innovation owing to contact influence from YB. Such [g] ~ [kʰ] variation is not found in other lexical items where we see parallels across the dialects in terms of the two different phonemes /g/ ~ /kʰ/. Consider the examples in (20):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(20) No [g] ~ [kʰ] variation in other morphological environments

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
gar	gar	gar	gar	'marriage'
gan	gan	gan	gan	'road'
kʰan	kʰan	kʰan	kʰan	'fort'
kʰapun	kʰapun	kʰapun	kʰapun	'spoon'
kʰači	kʰači	kʰači	kʰači	'bucket'

There is [b] ~ [d] variation in the verb 'be' (in Singular forms) in the case of [–H, II] nouns in the environment preceding */l/ (the latter shifted to [w] in YB *duwa* (from **bila* > *dila* > *dula* > *duwa*). Thus, while HB has the [b] forms for this verb, the corresponding YB, NB and SB cognates have [d] forms (barring some inter-speaker variation in NB which can be attributed to language contact and dialectal leveling). Consider the data in (21):

(21) Verb 'be; [–H, II]'

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
duwa	bila	dila (~bila)	dila	'be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]'
dułum	bilum	dilum	dilum	'be.PST.3SG.[–H, II]'

The forms containing an initial *d* can be explained through an assimilation rule */b/ > [d] before a dental onset in the following syllable. Thus, */bila/ > *dila*, */bilum/ →*dilum*, and so on. YB *duwa* could be the result of a phonological rule whereby */l/ is weakened in a specific context (i.e, **dila* > *dula* > *duwa*; cf. YB *dułum* where */l/ is retained).[9] Because there is overwhelming evidence that YB is less closely related to the other dialects, the change might have happened independently in different dialects. Alternatively, the [b] form in HB could be the result of analogical leveling, in which case the reconstructed form would contain an initial */d/. We will see later that in SB, the [d] forms of verb 'be', used for [–H, II] nouns, are in the process of merging with [b] forms (used for [–H, I] nouns). Such developments deserve further investigation regarding dialectal differences and convergence.

7.2 Lexical Differences

A significant number of lexical differences are observed between YB on the one hand and HB, NB and SB on the other. This is especially true of nouns. Consider the examples in (22):

9 Notice also the i~u vowel alternation in the verb stem across the dialects.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(22) Lexical differences between YB and other dialects[10]

YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
tati	aɣa	aɣa	aɣa	'father'
nani 'mother'	ami	ami	ami	'my mother'
gišišḳin	kaŋka	kaŋka	kaŋka[11]	'spider'
piliili	kʰon	kʰon	kʰon	'ant'
gamburi	asqor	asqur	asqur	'flower'
weẓnu	buqpa	buqpa	boqpa	'garlic' (cf. Sh. bukpa)
pʰałaliŋ	pudina	pudina	pudina	'mint'
gark	gark	gark	maṭar	'pea(s)' (Ur. matar)
bubu	ṣiqar	ṣiqal	ṣiqal	'wasp'
pʰušuruk	traqo	–	–	'grasshopper'
bułasqor	lilyo	–	–	'kind of flower'
haro	tulpo	mulo	mulo	'radish'
baloqa	duwaqo	–	–	'hammer'

Many lexical differences are observed between SB and HB-NB; these could be attributed to changes after the split of SB from its parent dialect (i.e., NB). In SB, many Burushaski forms are no longer used and are replaced by words for the corresponding items borrowed from Urdu. Consider the examples in (23) (Kashmiri forms are also provided for comparison):

(23) Lexical differences between Hunza-Nagar and SB

HB-NB	SB	Forms in contact languages	Gloss
ǰaam	rištedaar	Ur. rištedaar, K. rišt̪idaar	'relatives'
pʰariṣ	batek	Ur. batax, K. batak	'duck'
kʰači, baalṭi	baalṭi	Ur. baalṭi, K. baalṭiin	'bucket'
kʰapun	čamač, čamča	Ur. čammač/čamča, K. čamčɨ	'spoon'
sar	xargooš	Ur. xargooš, K. xargooš/kʰargooš	'rabbit'
poo(c)	šaar	Ur. šeer, K. šaar	'verse'

10 Although *tati* 'father' and *nani* 'mother' are also available in the other dialects (e.g. *nani* was attested in HB), *aɣa* 'father' and *ami* '(my) mother' are not used by the speakers of YB. While *tati* and *nani*, possibly loanwords, are free morphemes, *ami* contains bound morphemes – *mi* for 'mother' (cf. *gumi* 'your mother', *mimi* 'our mother', and so on. It is not clear whether *aɣa* is a native word or a lexical borrowing used as an address term for 'father' or 'respected person' (cf. Persian *aaɣa* and Urdu *aaqa*, an address term meaning 'a respected man'). The native word for 'father' in SB is a bound morpheme *-u*; thus, we have *au* 'my father', *guu* 'your father', *muu* 'her father', *yuu* 'his father', and so on. The latter belong to the class of inherently possessed nouns.

11 Another word *talabuuḍu* is used for a certain type of spider which is small with long angled legs.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Note that some of the native Burushaski forms in (23) above, such as *ǰaam, kʰačі, kʰapun*, etc., are recognized by the older generation of SB speakers, but these forms are no longer used in the community. Usage of *kʰapun* is taboo in SB because a homophonous word in Kashmiri, *kʰap-un* (v.), is a low-prestige slang term meaning 'have sexual intercourse'. Therefore, it is not surprising that Srinagar Burushos avoid using *kʰapun*, and instead use the loanword *čamač* or *čamča* for 'spoon'.

In addition to nouns, lexical differences are also reflected in verbs. For instance, SB/NB/HB *ni-* as opposed to YB *gal-* 'go'.

(24) Lexical differences in verbs: *ni-* ~ *gal-*
HB
beeruman saaliŋ nimi 'many years passed (went by)'

NB/SB
ǰe ničam 'I will go'
ni 'go; Imperative'
ele niimi 'he went there'

But YB
punyaala gali 'went to Punyal'
te zehen cum gali 'it went (by) from (one's) mind'

7.3 Morpho-Syntactic Differences

Although morpho-syntax does not present many striking differences among the various dialects of Burushaski, there are certain noteworthy differences. These include differences in inflectional patterns (e.g., nominal inflection, verbal inflection), derivational morphology (e.g., compounding and reduplication strategies), and some syntactic differences (e.g., clause combination strategies), as discussed in the following sections.

7.3.1 *Nominal Inflection*

A number of differences in nominal inflection are observed across dialects in terms of the nature and use of various morphemes for number, case and pronominal prefixes. Consider the examples in (25) illustrating the use of different plural-marking suffixes in the different dialects for certain nouns; the variation can be attributed to the availability of a large number of plural marking suffixes.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(25) Dialectal variation in plural marking

	YB	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
a.	iren	iriiŋ	iriiŋ	iriŋ	'his hand'
	ire-iŋ	iriiŋ-čiŋ	iriiŋ-čaŋ	iriŋ-čaŋ	'his hands'
b.	gus	gus	gus	gus	'woman'
	guš-iŋa	guš-iŋanc	guš-ianc	guš-ianc/-iŋo	'women'
c.	haɣur	haɣur	haɣur	haɣur	'horses'
	haɣur-a	haɣur-išo	haɣur-išo	haɣur-išo	'horses'
d.	urk	urk	urk	urk	'wolf'
	urk-a	urk-ai	urk-anc	urk-ainc/-išo	'wolves'
e.	ciyir	cʰi(g)ir	cʰigir	cʰigir	'goat'
	ciyar-a	cʰi(g)ir-išo	cʰigir-išo	cʰigir-išo	'goats'
f.	buš	buš	buš	buš	'cat'
	buš-anc	buš-oŋo	buš-oŋo	buš-oŋo	'cats'
g.	huk	huk	huk	huk	'dog'
	huk-a	huk-ay	huk-anc	huk-ayo/-eenc	'dogs'

Thus, for 'his hands' the plural marker {-iŋ} is used in YB, {-čiŋ} in HB, and {-čaŋ} in NB and SB (note: it is likely that the *-n* in YB *iren* '(his) hand' reflects the Singular Indefinite marker with the underlying form as /i-re-an/ '3MSG-hand-SG.NDEF', and that HB/NB/SB have re-interpreted an original Plural (i.e. /i-re-iŋ/ '3MSG-hand-PL', seen in YB) as a Singular stem, with redundant marking for the new plural (cf. Modern English dialectal *child-r-en-s*, but Old English *cild-ru* 'child-Plural'). For *gus* 'woman', a plural marker {-iŋa} is used in YB, as opposed to {-iŋanc} in HB, {-ianc} in NB, and {-ianc} as well as {-iŋo} in SB. In the case of *haɣur* 'horse', *ciyar~cʰi(g)ir* 'goat', and *huk* 'dog', the plural marker {-a} is used in YB and {-išo}, {-oŋo}, and {-ay(o)}/{-anc}/{-eenc} are used in HB, NB and SB, respectively. Similar variation is found in many other words not cited here.

Dialectal variation in case morphology is illustrated in (26):

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(26) Dialectal variation in case morphology

SB	NB	HB	YB	Gloss
ǰa	ǰa	ǰe	ǰa	'1SG; Absolutive'
ǰaa	ǰaa	ǰaa	ǰaa	'1SG; Ergative/Genitive'
ǰaare	ǰaar(e), aar	ǰaar, aar	ǰaaɣa	'1SG; Dative'
um	um	un	un	'2SG; Absolutive'
ume	ume	une	goo	'2SG; Ergative/Genitive'
umere	umer, uner	unar, goor	gooɣa	'2SG; Dative'
in(e)	in(e)	in	ne/mo	'3M/F.SG; Absolutive'
ine	ine	ine	nee/moo	'3M/F.SG; Ergative'
ine	ine	ine	nee	'3MSG; Genitive'
inmo	inmo	inmo	momo	'3FSG; Genitive'
inere	inere	inar	neeɣa	'3MSG; Dative'
inmore	inmor(e)	inmor	mooɣa	'3FSG; Dative'
uu	uu	uwe	wee	'3PL; Ergative/Genitive'
uure	uure/uwar	uwar	weeɣa	'3PL; Dative'
esere	isere	isar	seeɣa	'3SG [–H, I]; Dative'

Notice in (26) above that although SB is closest in forms to NB, the latter seems to have been considerably influenced by HB.

Another noteworthy dialectal variation in nominal morphology is that of postpositions such as *cum* 'from', *kaaṭe* 'with', *iŋi* 'in front' (~ *-cum*, *-kaaṭ* and *-iŋa* in YB). Thus, while the noun/pronoun in the complement position of the postpositional phrase in the other dialects may appear in an absolutive or an oblique form, a differential use of pronominal prefixes for [+human] nouns is additionally observed in the Yasin dialect (pronominal prefixes are invariably absent for [–human] nouns). The difference seems to be lexical in some cases, as indicated by the paradigms for *cum* in (27).

(27) Dialectal variation in the morphology of the postposition *cum*

a. Nouns/pronouns in absolutive form and no pronominal prefix on the postposition

SB	NB	HB	YB	Gloss
in cum	in cum	in cum	in/nee cum	'from him'
bapo cum	–	–	–	'from grandfather'
–	–	–	tati cum	'from father'
–	–	–	bapištaro cum	'from their grandfathers'
–	–	apimu cum	–	'from grandmother'
es cum	ise cum	ise cum	se cum	'from it [–H, I]'
et cum	ite cum	ite cum	te cum	'from it [–H, II]'
umi cum	umi cum	–	–	'from their mother'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. Nouns/pronouns in oblique (genitive) form and differential use of a pronominal prefix on *cum*

SB	NB	HB	YB	Gloss
gusmo cum	gusmo cum	gusmu cum	–	'from the woman'
dasinmo cum	dasinmo cum	dasinmo cum	dasinmo cum	'from the girl'
inmo cum	inmo cum	inmu cum	moo mu-cum	'from her'
uu cum	uu cum	uwe cum	uu (u-)cum	'from them'
um cum	–	–	goo (gu-)cum	'from you'
mie cum	–	–	mii mi-cum	'from us'

A question pertaining to the dialectal differences in (27) above that is yet to be resolved is whether *goo* and *moo* were (historical) pronominal affixes which have been reanalyzed as free morphemes in YB (cf. *goo gucum* and *moo mucum*).[12] The use of the genitive suffix *-e* (generic, which surfaces as vowel lengthening in most cases) and *-mo* (3FSG) in the other dialects (elsewhere) as opposed to pronouns *um/un* (2SG) and *in* (3SG) does seem to indicate a possible reanalysis of the pronominal affixes *gu-* and *mu-*(/*-mu*) in YB. Unlike those for *cum*, the YB paradigms for *-kaaṭ* and *-iŋa* are fairly regular. Thus we have YB forms like *ǰaa akaaṭ, goo gukaaṭ, moo mukaaṭ, nee ikaaṭ, see ∅-kaaṭ* and so on for *-kaaṭ* 'with', and *ǰaa aiŋa, goo guiŋa, moo muiŋa, maa maiŋa, mii miyiŋa, nee iiŋa* and so on for *-iŋa* 'in front'. Data from the other dialects, however, indicate that the pronominal prefixes do not combine with these postpositions. Thus, we have forms such as *ǰaa kaaṭe, ume kaaṭe, inmo kaaṭe, ine kaaṭe, ese kaaṭe* in SB.

A noteworthy difference in terms of postpositions is that of HB/NB/SB *gane* as opposed to YB *gandi* 'for'. The difference is illustrated by forms such as *ine gane* 'for him', *inmo gane* 'for her', *etase gane* 'for doing', *niyase gane* 'for going', etc. in HB/NB/SB, but *sabaqe gandi* 'for lessons' and *hunare gandi* 'for skill' in YB. Note that while *gane* and *gandi* are morphophonologically different, the noun in the complement position, as indicated by the examples, is in the Genitive (Oblique) form across dialects as expected.

12 Compare the following expression from YB where the postposition 'like' takes a pronominal prefix *gu-* and is preceded by *goo* '2SG':

*goo/*un*	*gu̯ltuɬum*
goo	gu-l̥tuɬ-um.
2SG.GEN	2SG-like-from
'like you'	

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

7.3.2 *Verbal Inflection*

There are significant differences in verbal inflection across dialects, some of which are discussed here. Thus, agreement suffixes may be phonologically reduced in one dialect or another. Data in (28) illustrate some of the differences between YB and SB verbal morphology:

(28) Variations in verbal inflection between YB and SB

a. YB *VERB-*a* ~ SB *VERB-*am* '*VERB-PST.1SG'

	sena ~ senam	
YB	ǰaa	sen-a
SB	ǰaa	sen-am
	I.ERG.	say-PST.1SG
	'I said'	

b. YB *VERB-*i* ~ SB *VERB-*imi* '*VERB-PST.3SG(M)'

i.

	seni ~ senimi	
YB	ne	sen-i
SB	ine	sen-imi
he.ERG	say-PST.3MSG	
'he said'		

ii.

	mani ~ manimi			
YB	se	k^{h}an	p^{h}at	man-i
SB	ese	k^{h}an	p^{h}at	man-imi
	that.[–H, I]	fort	finish	exist/become-PST.3MSG.[–H, I]
	'The fort was destroyed/finished'			

iii. *mani ~ imanimi* 'exist/become.PST.3MSG'

YB	(ne)	heiraan	man-i
	he	surprised	exist/become-PST.3MSG
SB	ine	heiraan	i-man-imi
	he	surprised	3MSG-exist/become-PST.3MSG
	'he was surprised'		

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

iv. *-deli ~ -delimi* 'hit.PST.3MSG'

YB	us-ka[13]	tueq-e		mu-del-i
	wife-DAT	rifle-INST		3FSG-hit-PST.3MSG
SB	yuus-mu-re	tueq-e	kaa	mu-del-imi
	his.wife-F.GEN-DAT	rifle-GEN	with	3FSG-hit-PST.3MSG

'He killed/hit his wife with a/the rifle'

c. *-am ba ~ -a ba* '-1SG be.PRES.1SG'
ṣiyam ~ ṣiya 'eat.IPFV.1SG'

YB	ṣapek	ṣiy-am	ba
SB	ṣapek	ṣiy-a	ba
	food	eat-1SG	be.PRES.1SG

'I have eaten'

d. *-an ~ -uman* '3PL'
etan ~ etuman 'do-PST.3PL' and *senan ~ senuman* 'say-PST.3PL'

YB	pʰarišta-tiŋ-e	uya	haraŋ	bariŋ	et-an,	daa	sen-an ...
SB	pʰarišta-muc-e	uuyi	haraŋ	bariŋ	et-uman,	daa	sen-uman ...
	angel-PL-GEN	themselves	among	talk.PL	do-PST.3PL,	and	say-PST.3PL ...

'The angels talked among themselves and they said ...'

While SB forms are closer to those in NB and to a great extent in HB, there is morpho-syntactic variation between HB and SB in terms of some verbal inflection patterns vis-à-vis class features. Thus, verb inflection patterns for the verb 'be' in the case of HB and NB make a distinction between agreement markers for [–H, I] and [–H, II] nouns. This distinction, however, is no longer available in SB in certain syntactic environments. Consider the data in (29) for illustration:

13 Notice the devoicing (through voice assimilation) and strengthening (via dissimilation for manner of articulation) of the consonant in the Dative suffix *-ka* in YB (cf.- *ɣa* in *ǰaɣa* 'to me').

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(29) Variations in verbal inflection between HB and SB

	HB	NB	SB	Gloss
a.	mey bi / bila	mey bi / bila	may bi	'(it.[−H, I]/[−H, II]) exists'
b.	mey bim / bilum	–	may bim	'(it.[−H, I]/[−H, II]) used to happen/be'
c.	mani bi / bila	mani bi / bila	mani bi	'(it.[−H, I]/[−H, II]) has happened'
d.	ɣayiči bim / ɣayičilum	–	ɣayiči bim	'(it.[−H, I]/[−H, II]) used to feel (to X)'
e.	dii bi / bila	dii bi / bila	dii bi	'(it.[−H, I]/[−H, II]) has come'

Thus, in SB, the *dil*-form for the verb 'be' is no longer used when the verb 'be' is in auxiliary position in a complex verb (MAIN VERB + AUXILIARY VERB), even when the subject is [−H, II]. Consider the examples in (30) for illustration:

(30) Dialectal differences in verbal inflection

a. Verb 'be'

HB
ese	*asal*	*iik*	*bila*	*čapati*
ese	asal	i-ik	bila	čapati
its	real	3MSG-name$_i$	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]$_i$	PN

'Its real name is "chapati" (type of bread).'

NB
kʰote	*ɣeniṣ*	*gus*	*dila,*	*buri*
kʰote	ɣeniṣ	gus	dila	buri
this.[−H, II]	gold	woman	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]	silver

hir	*dila*
hir	dila
man	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]

'This gold is feminine and silver is masculine'

iik	*besen*	*dila?*
i-ik	besen	dila
3MSG-name$_i$	what	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]$_i$

'What is his name?'

SB
ume	*guyik*	*besen*	*dila?*
um-e	gu-ik	besen	dila
you-GEN	2SG-name$_i$	what	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]$_i$

'What is your name?'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

kʰot	*miimo*	*tahziibulu*	*faarsiye*	*zyaada*	*asar*
kʰot	miimo	tahziib-ulu	faarsi-e	zyaada	asar
this.[−H, II]	our.own	culture-in	Persian-GEN	more	effect

dila
dila
be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]
'In this culture of ours, the influence of Persian is greater (than that of other languages)'

b. Verb 'happen'

HB	*ise*	*bunaṭe*	*gari*	*meey*	*bila*
	ise	bun-aṭe	gari	meey	bila
	that.[−H, I]	rock-on	light	become.IPFV	be.PRES.3SG.[−H,II][14]

'A light/lamp kindles on that stone.'

NB	*buš-e*	*surat*$_i$	*may*	*bila*$_i$
	cat-GEN	face	exist.IPFV	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]

'(Its countenance) happens to be like (that) of a cat' (Berger 1998, vol. 2: 184)

SB	*in-e*	*i-ik*$_i$	*may*	*bi*$_i$	*kanaan*
	3SG-GEN	3MSG-name	exist.IPFV	be.PRES.3SG.[−H]	Kanaan

'His name happens to be Kanaan'
(From the story of *Hazrat Adam ke Zizi Hava* 'Adam and Eve' by Gulzar Auntie)

c. Verb 'feel'

HB	*uuar*	*kʰot*$_i$	*ɣayičilum*$_i$
	3PL-DAT	this.[−H, II]	feel.IPFV.PST.3SG.[−H, II]

'They used to feel this' / 'It used to feel to them (like this)'
(From the speech of Ruhi Hunzai)

14 Notice that although the speaker uses the demonstrative pronoun *ise* ('that.[−H, I]') for 'rock', the agreement suffix in the verb is that of the [-H, II] noun class. Similar mismatches in the agreement are also attested in the speech of different speakers elsewhere in the database.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

SB	*kʰot* $_i$	*et-as*	*inere*	*buṭ*	*šua*	*ɣayiči*
	this.[−H, II]	do-INF	3SG.DAT	very	good	feel.IPFV
	bim$_i$					
	be.PST.3SG.[−H]					

'He used to like doing this'/'Doing this used to please (feel good to) him'

(From a narrative by Raja Safdar Ali Khan)

Based on the examples in (30) above, it can be assumed that SB has undergone a syntactic change after its separation from the parent dialect. This argument is further strengthened by data from Lorimer (1935–38), where we find similar forms as attested here, and in the texts from Hunza and Nagar in Berger (1998) and Skyhawk (2003). One such case is HB *ẓuçila* '(it; [−H, II]) comes' (Lorimer 1935–38, vol. 2: 176). The corresponding form in SB is *ẓuçi bi* '(it; [−H, I/II]) comes'.

7.3.3 *Compounds*

Some compound constructions attested in the Pakistani dialects of Burushaski, especially older forms, are no longer attested in SB. Data from Lorimer (1935–38) and Berger (1998) include forms which are not found in SB. Consider the examples in (31):

(31) Word order variation in compounds

a. Compound adjectives

HB-NB	SB	
nasiip$_{\text{Noun}}$-*šua*$_{\text{Adj}}$	*xuš*$_{\text{Adj}}$-*nasiib*$_{\text{Noun}}$	(cf. Urdu *xuš-nasiib*)
luck-good	happy-luck	
'lucky; having good fortune'	'lucky; having good fortune'	

Examples:

NB	*um*	*buṭ*	*nasiip-šua*	*bam*
	you	very	luck-good	be.PST.[+H]
	'You were very lucky'		(From Berger 1998, vol. 2: 188)	

SB	*ine*	*buṭ*	*xuš-nasiib*	*bam*
	he	very	happy-luck	be.PST.[+H]
	'He was very lucky'			

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. Compound nouns: e.g. 'white X'

HB-NB	SB	
$diiv_{\text{Noun}}$-$safiid_{\text{Adj}}$	$safeed_{\text{Adj}}$	$gaṭu_{\text{Noun}}$
ghost-white	white	dress
'white ghost'	'white dress'	

The forms with compound adjectives (i.e., (31-a)) and compound nouns (i.e., (31-b)) have different word-orders across the dialects. The word-orders found in SB are also attested in other dialects, but not vice versa. Note that HB/NB *diiv-safiid* and NB *xuš-nasiib* are borrowings from Persian, perhaps nativized independently in SB and HB/NB.

7.3.4 *Variation in Reduplication Strategies*

The Pakistani dialects of Burushaski (i.e. HB, NB, and YB) use a number of different reduplication strategies, some of which are not attested in SB. The patterns found in SB are similar to those in the areal languages, especially Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri, where, in partial (echo) reduplication, the initial consonant in the RED is replaced by *v-*. On the other hand, the unmarked reduplication pattern in the Pakistani dialects is fairly different from the other areal languages, replacing the initial consonant of the RED by *m-*. Thus, reduplicated forms such as those in (32) are not found in SB:

(32) Reduplicated forms attested in Hunza-Nagar but not in SB

a. RED with an initial *m-* in place of an initial consonant in the root

hilesan-milesan
boy.NDEF-RED
'a/some boy and the like'

gusan-musan
woman.NDEF-RED
'a/some woman and the like'

dasin-masin-an[15]
girl-RED-SG.NDEF
'a girl and the like'

15 Note the absence of *-an* 'Indefinite Singular' from the stem/base.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b. RED with an extra initial syllable *ma*

ẓiiẓao-maẓiiẓao
rivalry-RED
'rivalry, and the like'

laq-malaq *man-* (< /laq man-/ 'to shake/tremble')
shake-RED become
'shake/tremble badly' (Intransitive)

In addition to the forms above, there are a large number of other complex reduplicated forms in the other dialects which are no longer found in SB (for more on SB reduplication, refer to Chapter 6).

7.3.5 *Structural Innovation: Calquing of Tag Questions in SB*

Tag questions in Burushaski are generally formed by adding *be* 'no' or *na* 'no' (the latter is a loan from Urdu) to the end of the clause; a specific question intonation is added to the negative morpheme (designated as "NEG_{Tag}").[16] Consider the examples in (33):

(33) Tag questions in Burushaski

a. *ǰaa* *a-u-e* *burondu-muc* *ɣeniṣ-e* *bim-a,*
1SG.GEN 1SG-father-GEN ring-PL gold-GEN be.PST-QM,
be?
NEG_{Tag}
'My father's rings were (made) of gold, were they not?'
(From Hunza Burushaski; Lorimer 1935–38, vol. 2: 313)

b. *bandaa* *čʰape* *maza* *es* *ce* *oo-maimi,*
human.GEN meat.GEN taste it from NEG-exist.IPFV.3SG,
na?
NEG_{Tag}
'It won't have the taste of human flesh, will it?'
(From Hunza Burushaski; Lorimer 1935–38, vol. 2: 313)

c. *umere* *ǰaa* *čuruk* *n-e(t)* *gu-uč-am-a,* *be?*
you.DAT 1SG.ERG cut PTCP-do 2SG-give.IPFV-1SG-QM NEG_{Tag}
'I will cut it for you, won't I?'
(From an 8-year-old speaker of SB)

16 It is likely that *be* is of Tibetan origin.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Aside from the constructions in (33) above, SB has developed an innovative tag-question formation strategy under linguistic influence and using a loanword from Urdu, *mat*. In Urdu, *mat* is a functional category (designated as "NEG") used only in negative commands. Its lexico-semantic equivalent in Kashmiri is *ma* which has two functions: *ma* is used in negative commands and in tag question formation. Consider the examples in (34) for illustration:

(34) Negative commands in Urdu and Kashmiri

a. Ur. *yeh* *mat* *karo*
K. *yi* *ma* *kar*
this NEG do.IMP
'Don't do this'

b. Ur. *udʰar* *mat* *ǰaao*
K. *hoor* *ma* *gacʰ*
there NEG do.IMP
'Don't go there'

In SB, Urdu *mat* is used to form tag questions based on a Kashmiri syntactic pattern. This is illustrated in the examples in (35) (note: English loans are given in *italics* in the free translation):

(35) Tag questions in SB and Kashmiri

a. SB. *et-ulu* [*mat* *meyimi*] *koolḍriŋk*
that-in NEG_{Tag} exist.IPFV.3SG.[−H] cold drink
'There won't be *cold-drinks* then, will there?'
(From the speech of an 8-year-old girl)

K. *tami* *vizi* [*ma* *aasi*] *kold-ḍriŋk*
that time NEG_{Tag} be.FUT.3SG cold-drink
'There won't be *cold-drinks* then, will there?'

a'.
Ur. *tab* *kold-ḍriŋk* *nahii* *hogi* *na*
then cold-drink NEG be.FUT.3FSG NEG_{Tag}
'There won't be *cold-drinks* then, will there?'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

b.

SB.	*inere*	[*mat*	*leel*	*dilum*]*?*
	3SG.DAT	NEG_{Tag}	knowledge	be.PST.[–H, II]
	'He didn't have knowledge, did he?'			
	(From the story of *Shri Badat*)			
K.	*tamis*	[*ma*	*əəs*	*xabar*]*?*
	3SG.DAT	NEG_{Tag}	be.PST.FSG	knowledge (FSG)
	'He didn't have knowledge, did he?'			

b'.

Ur.	*usko*	*maalum*	*nahi*	*tʰaa*	*na*
	3SG.DAT	knowledge	NEG	be.PST.3MSG	NEG_{Tag}
	'He didn't have knowledge, did he?'				

c.

SB.	*tei*	*mat*	*seyama*
	that.EMPH	NEG_{Tag}	say.IPFV.2SG
K.	*tii*	*ma*	*vanakʰ*
	that.EMPH	NEG_{Tag}	say.FUT.2Sg.
	'You won't say that, will you?'		

c'.

Ur.	*vahi*	*to*	*nahi*	*kahogi*	*na*
	that.EMPH	PTCL	NEG	say.FUT.2SG	NEG_{Tag}
	'You won't say that, will you?'				

As is evident in (35) above, the SB forms have exact parallels in Kashmiri but not in Urdu. What is interesting about these constructions is that the change in SB involves lexical borrowing from Urdu and calquing from Kashmiri at the same time. Furthermore, what is interesting is the use of the NEG_{Tag} sentence-medially – a structural feature characteristic of Kashmiri (see Munshi (2010) for more on this change).

7.3.6 *Dialectal Differences in Clause Combination*

Clause combination in Burushaski employs a functional category which is generally introduced in front of the embedded clause or between coordinated clauses. One such functional category frequently used as a coordinating as well as a subordinating conjunction in HB, and (perhaps only) as a coordinating conjunction in NB, is *kuli*. The use of *kuli* is not attested in the data from SB. The corresponding functional category used in SB is *ke*; the latter is also

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

attested in the other dialects of Burushaski besides *kuli*. In addition to *kuli* and *ke*, another functional category *to* (a loanword from Urdu, loosely translated as 'then', 'so', etc.) is used in conditional clauses. The latter is available in all dialects to varying degrees. Some examples from NB and HB illustrating the use of *kuli, ke* and *to* are provided in (36) and (37) below (for examples from SB, refer to section 3.4 in Chapter 3).

(36) Clause combination in NB narrative discourse: use of *kuli, ke* and *to*

a. *senimi* *ke* *"paristaane* *baadšaa*
sen-umi ke paristaan-e baadša-a
say-PST.3MSG COMP fairyland-GEN king-GEN
eye *hik* *ganṭa* *kuli* *apači* *ṣuu*
e-y-e hik ganṭa kuli a-pači ṣuu
3MSG-daugther-ERG one.[–H, II] hour also 1SG-with rest
eti *au* *senumo"*
eti au sen-umo
do-IMP.SG NEG say-PST.3FSG
'He said, "The daughter of the king of the fairyland did not ask me to take rest for even an hour with her." '

b. *to* *ese* *ç^{h}ine* *"duyšam"* *ne* *buṭ*
to ese ç^{h}in-e duyš-am n-et buṭ
so that.[–H, I] sparrow-ERG take.out.IPFV-1SG PTCP-do much
yaare *ɣiẓiɣaẓam* *mey* *bi,* *to*
yaare ɣiẓi-ɣaẓam may bi to
down struggle~RED become.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] so
au *lay* *bi;* *au* *lanum* *buṭ*
au lay bi au lan-um buṭ
NEG can be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] NEG can-NMLZ much
heyraan *nima* *"besan* *ečam"* *ne*
heyraan n-i-man besan eč-am n-et
surprised PTCP-3SG-become what do.IPFV-1SG PTCP-do
kaman *guc^{h}arču~guc^{h}arču* *dalumpaare* *niyas*
kam-an guc^{h}arču-me~guc^{h}arču-me dalumpaa-re ni-as
little-SG.NDEF walk.IPFV.PROG~RED north.side-DAT go-INF
ke p^{h}uwan *ẓuçu* *bila*
ke p^{h}u-an ẓuçu bila
COMP fire-SG.NDEF come.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

'(And) then, this sparrow, having said, "I will take (the pearls) out" … deep down, there is a lot of struggle, but it is unable to do it; when it is unable to do it, it is surprised it could not. "What shall I do?" it said'. (And) after walking a little towards the north, it was greeted by a fire (Lit. a fire is coming).'

(37) Clause combination in HB: use of *kuli, ke* and *to*

a. *han guncan cʰoor duusuma kuli guirčaa*
han gunc-an cʰoor duusu-uma kuli gu-ir-č-aa
one day-SG.NDEF soon bring-PST.2SG COMP 2SG-die-IPFV-2SG
'Will you die if you brought (it) quicker one single day?'
Or, 'If you had brought it sooner/faster one day, would you die?'

b. *hindu bai kuli kʰaš eča baan,*
hindu bai kuli kʰaš eča baan
Hindu be.PRES.3MSG COMP slit/cut do.IPFV be.PRES.PL
musalmaan bai kuli kʰaš eča baan
musalmaan bai kuli kʰaš eča baan
Muslim be.PRES.3MSG COMP slit/cut do.IPFV be.PRES.PL
'If one is a Hindu, they will slit (his throat). If one is a Muslim, they will slit it (kill him as well)'
(i.e., 'Whether one is a Hindu or a Muslim, they will kill him')

c. *agar une paritiŋ u-yeec-as-ar rai etaa ke,*
agar une pari-tiŋ u-yeec-as-ar rai etaa ke
if you.ERG fairy-PL 3PL-see-INF-DAT desire do.PST.2SG COMP
to akʰi tariiqaaṭe uyeešuma ke …
to akʰi tariiqa-aṭe u-yeeš-uma ke
then thus manner-on 3PL-see.IPFV-2SG COMP
'If you wished to see fairies, then you will see them thus (in this manner)'
(From Berger 1998, vol. 1: 195)

Notice in (37-c) above, the [*agar* X *to* Y] 'if X, then Y' construction in conditionals is also available in SB. Note that both *agar* 'if' and *to* 'then' are borrowed from Urdu. Furthermore, Burushaski *hazaar*(*e*) 'if', attested in the Pakistani dialects but not in SB, is used in the formation of conditional clauses besides *agar*. In YB, *wahǰam* 'if' is also attested (besides *hazaare* 'if') as illustrated in (38).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

(38) Clause combination in YB: use of *wahǰam*

un	*wahǰam*	*ǰaa*	*aço*	*yeeča*	*ka*	*sen*	*ǰaɣa*	*kaal*
un	wahǰam	ǰaa	a-ço	yeeča	ka	sen	ǰa-ɣa	kaal
you	if	my	1SG- sibling	see.IPFV	then	tell	1SG-DAT	call

ečimi
eč-imi
do.IPFV-3MSG
'If you see my brother, then tell him to make a phone call to me'
(Lit. 'If you see my brother, then tell (him) he will make a phone call to me')

Both *wahǰam* and *hazaare* are absent from the SB database.

Dialectal variation is also reflected in the use of quotative constructions. Thus, while all of them make use of a conjunctive participle (which could be translated as 'having said') in these constructions, the quotative attested in the SB and HB data is *nusenin* and (its reduced form) *nuse* (respectively), as opposed to *nuxaten* ~ *nuxa* in YB. Consider the examples in (39) for illustration:

(39) Use of quotative *nusenin~nuse* in SB/HB and *nuxa* in YB

a. SB: *nusenin* 'having said' as quotative

map^{h}eerere	*leel*	*apim*	*ke*
map^{h}eer-e-re	leel	a-bim	ke
old man-GEN-DAT	knowledge	NEG-be.PST.3SG.[−H, I]	COMP

in	*t^{h}am*	*bai*	*nusenin*
in	t^{h}am	bai	nu-sen-in
3SG	king	be.PRES.3MSG	PTCP-say-PTCP (=QUOT)

'The old man did not know that "He is the king" (UNQUOTE).'

b. HB: *nuse* 'having said' as quotative

i.

ye	*hin*	*"baqtiǰamaal"*	*nu-sen*	*bam,*	*hin*
ye	hin	baqti ǰamaal	nu-sen	bam,	hin
DM	one.[+H]	PN	PTCP-say	be.PST. 3SG.[+H]	one.[+H]

alqaš	*nu-sen*	*bam*
alqaš nu-sen	bam	
PN	PTCP-say	be.PST.3SG. [+H]

'There was one/a man (called) "Baqti Jamaal," (and there was another) one called "Alqash."

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ii.

ine	*muucum*	*duɣarusumo*	
in-e	mu-u-cum	duɣarus-umo	
3SG.[+H]-ERG	3FSG-father-from	ask-PST.3FSG	
"akʰil~akʰil	*hasiinan*	*bai"*	*nuse*
akʰil~akʰil	hasiin -an	bai	nu-sen
such~RED	handsome-SG.NDEF	be.PRES.3MSG	PTCP-say (=QUOT)
nooltirin	*nika(h)*	*ne*	
nu-oo-ltir-in	nikah	n-e(t)	
PTCP-3PL-show-PTCP	marriage	PTCP-do	

'She asked [lit. "from"] her father, (saying) "He's such a handsome man!" (UNQUOTE), and after having shown him to them [i.e. her family?], (she) got married (to him) …'

c. YB: *nuxaten ~ nuxa* as quotative

i.

cʰor-cʰor	*hen*	*"qabaat"*	*nuxa*	*baadšaan*	*bam*
cʰor~cʰor	hen	Qabaat	nuxa	baadša-an	bam
first~RED	one.[+H]	PN	QUOT	king-SG.NDEF	be.PST.3SG.[+H]

'A long time ago, there was a king called "Qabaat." '

ii.

oho	*goo*	*mamuuce*	*bełese*	*čʰap*
oho	go-e	mamu-e-ce	bełes-e	čʰap
VOC	2SG-GEN	milk-GEN-with	sheep-GEN	meat

akʰurum	*nyam*	*dułase*	*beerum*	*nyam*
akʰurum	nyam	dułas-e	beerum	nyam
this.much	tasty	child-GEN	how much	tasty

mayemi	*nuxa*	*ho*	*dułašu*	*uṣeyaastimi*
may-umi	nu xa	ho	dułas-šu	u-ṣe-aast-imi
become.IPFV.3MSG	QUOT	then	child-PL	3PL-eat-exist-PST.3MSG

'He said, "Oh! If that meat of a lamb (sheep) brought up on your milk is so tasty, then how tasty would a (human) child's meat be!" Having said that, he started eating children from then on.'

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

iii.

siya,	*tooruma*	*seni*	*ka,*	
siya	tooruma	sen-i	ka	
say.IPFV	how.much	say-PST.3SG	then	
"nukirmin	*guč^{h}ičam*	*baa",*	*noxaten,*	
nu-girmin	gu-č^{h}i-č-am	baa	nu-xat-en	
PTCP-write	2SG-give-IPFV-1SG	be.PRES.1SG	PTCP-say-PTCP	
nukirmin,	*yaani ki,*[17]	*waziir*	*yakalca*	*deemasi,*
nu-girmin	yaani-ki	waziir	yakal-ca	deemas-i
PTCP-write	meaning.that	minister	towards-at	pass.on-3SG

'Saying (DM), he said this much, "I will give (it to) you in writing" (UNQUOTE). Having written (it), meaning (DM), he passed the writing to the minister.'

While the participial form *nuse*(*nin*) is based on the verb *sen-* 'say', the origin of *-xa*(*t*) 'say' in *nuxa*(*ten*) seems to be independent, considering that *sen-* 'say' is used across the dialects in other contexts (cf. YB *sen-i* 'he said', *sen-en* '(they) said', etc.).

Note that the conjunctive participial forms of other verbs are more or less similar across dialects. Thus, we have forms such as HB *niyan* 'having brought (it)', *numoyan* 'having brought (her)' *nootin* 'having made them do X', *nuuruṭ* 'having sat/stayed', and *nuher* 'having cried'; NB *nukirmin* 'having written', *nete*(*n*) 'having done', and *nuya*(*n*) 'having taken'; SB *nupel* 'having worn', *netin*(*in*) 'having done', *nukaarc* 'having run', and *nikirmin~nukirmin* 'having written'; and YB *net* 'having done', *nuher* 'having cried', *numuyan* 'having taken her', and *nukirmin* 'having written' (for participial constructions in SB, see sections 3.5 and 5.7).

17 Note that *yaani ki* (lit. 'meaning that') is treated as a frozen expression; it is a very common discourse marker used in Urdu, probably borrowed from Arabic or Persian.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

APPENDIX

Sample Texts

Mapheer ke Tham

'The old man and the king'[1]

1. sey baan , buṭ vaxtan
   sey baan buṭ vaxt -an
   say.IPFV be.PRES.PL.[+h] much time SG.NDEF

   nimi , (PAUSE) tʰaman bam
   ni -imi tʰam -an bam
   go PST.3SG king SG.NDEF be.PST.3.[+h]
   It is said that a long time ago, (there) was a king.

2. in gucʰarčere , kiikaar
   in gucʰar -č -e -re kiikaar
   3SG.[+h] walk -IPFV GEN DAT excursion/outing

   mayaare , han tarafan
   maya- -e -re han taraf -an
   become.IPFV GEN DAT one.[−H, I] side SG.NDEF

   nimi
   ni -imi
   go PST.3MSG
   He went to some place for a walk, (or) an outing.

1 This story was narrated by (late) Raja Safdar Ali Khan. The translations were done with the help of Mr. Khan and his daughter, Ruqsana Bano.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2019 | DOI:10.1163/9789004387898_009
Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

3. ine kaaṭe iimu sis ke bam
in -e kaaṭe iimu sis ke bam
3SG.[+h] GEN with his.own people also be.PST.3PL.[+h]
His entourage was also with him.

4. *eh* buṭan nukucar hit^{h}aane
buṭ -an nu- kucar hit^{h}aan -e
much SG.NDEF PTCP walk one.place GEN

yeecuman , malan
i- yeec -uman mal -an
3SG see PST.PL.[+h] cultivable.field SG.NDEF

dilum
dilum
be.PST.3SG.[–H, II]
Eh, after walking quite a bit, they saw a place. (It) was a (cultivable) field.

5. es malulu hin map^{h}eeran ,
es mal -ulu hin map^{h}eer -an
that.[–H, I] cultivable field in one.[+h] old SG.NDEF

šuwa qor nim map^{h}eeran ,
šuwa qor ni -um map^{h}eer -an
good age go NMLZ old SG.NDEF
(There) was an old man in that field, quite a very old man.

6. ine ɣudookusan ,[2] ɣudookušuyik
in -e ɣudookus -an ɣudookušu -ik
3SG.[+h] ERG hole SG.NDEF holes PL.NDEF

ɣaẓam etu bam
ɣaẓam e- tu bam
dig 3SG do be.PST.3MSG.[+h]
He had dug a hole, (a bunch of) holes.

2 The speaker makes a false start first and then corrects himself.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

7. ke ece tomičaŋ eegiçu bam
ke ece tom -ičaŋ ee- giçu bam
and those.[–H, I] tree PL 3SG sow.IPFV be.PST.3MSG.[+h]
And he was sowing trees in them.

8. tʰamere amit vaxtulu mapʰeer
tʰam -e -re amit vaxt -ulu mapʰeer
king GEN DAT which.SG.[–H, II] time in old

iicimi buṭ qor ni bai
iic -imi buṭ qor ni bai
see PST.3MSG much age go be.PRES.3MSG
When the king saw the old man, he (the latter) seemed very old.

9. iḍimulu pura taaqatan
i- ḍim -ulu pura taaqat -an
3MSG body in complete strength SG.NDEF

apim
a- pim
NEG be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
Complete strength was absent from his body (his body didn't feel strong at all).

10. buṭ kamzooran imanu bam
buṭ kamzoor -an i- manu bam
much weak SG.NDEF 3MSG become be.PST.3MSG.[+h]
He had become (sort of) very weak.

11. buṭ ašaato imanu bam
buṭ ašaato i- manu bam
much weak 3MSG become be.PST.3MSG.[+h]
He had become very fragile.

12. inere tomičaŋ eegiyas
in -e -re tom -ičaŋ ee- gi -as
3SG.[+h] GEN DAT tree PL 3SG SOW INF

niyicin tʰam (PAUSE), inere
n-i- yeec -in tʰam in -e -re
PTCP-3MSG- see PTCP king 3SG.[+h] GEN DAT

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

beftan ɣanimi
beftan ɣan -imi
strange appear PST.3MSG
Having seen him sowing trees, the king (PAUSE) felt strange.

13. ke inere qaw etas cum ii
ke in -e -re qaw et- -as cum ii
and 3SG.[+h] GEN DAT call do INF from himself

nimi epačiere
ni -imi e- pači -e -re
go PST.3MSG 3SG near GEN DAT
And instead of calling for him, he himself went over to him.

14. ine vaziir bam , vaziir senimi ,
in -e vaziir bam vaziir sen -imi
3SG.[+h] GEN minister be.PST.[+h] minister say PST.3MSG

“ bes ǰuu , beečar qaw eču baa ?”
bes ǰuu beečar qaw e- ču ba =a
why Sir what.for call 3MSG do.IPFV be.PRES.2SG.[+h] =QM
His minister was (there). The minister said, “Why Sir, why are you calling him?”

15. tʰame … , tʰame senimi , “ǰaa
tʰam -e tʰam -e sen -imi ǰa -e
king ERG king ERG say PST.3MSG 1SG ERG

kʰin mapʰeere deɣurušamce
kʰin mapʰeer -e deɣuruš -am -ce
this.[+h] old GEN 3MSG.ask.IPFV 1SG POT

ke kʰin ise tomičaŋ neegi ,
ke kʰin ise tom -ičaŋ nu- ee- gi
COMP this.[+h] that.[–H, I] tree PL PTCP 3SG sow

inere besen yeči ”
in -e -re besen yeči
3SG.[+H] GEN DAT what get.IPFV
The king … the king said, “I will ask this old man what he will get (from) having planted trees.”

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

16. senas xaa ke ,[3] vaziire senimi ke ,
sen -as xaa ke vaziir -e sen -imi ke
say INF until COMP minister ERG say PST.3MSG COMP

"ya ǰuu , um niyas , in epači niyas ,
ya ǰuu um ni -as in e- pači ni -as
VOC Sir 2SG go INF 3SG.[+h] 3MSG with go INF

besen ales api , zaruurat
besen ales a- pi zaruurat
what that.[–H, I] NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] need

api
a- pi
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
Having said so (DM), the minister said: "O Sir, there is no need for you to go to him.

17. miiw (inere)[4] qaw
mi -e in -e -re qaw
1PL -ERG 3SG.[+h] GEN DAT call (n.)

ečan ke kʰoley deɣurušan "
e- č -an ke kʰoley deɣuruš -an
3MSG do.IPFV PL and here 3MSG.ask.IPFV PL
"We will call (him), and we will ask (him) right here."

18. tʰame senimi , "be , in buṭ mapʰeer
tʰam -e sen -imi be in buṭ mapʰeer
king ERG say PST.3MSG no 3SG.[+h] much old

bai
bai
be.PRES.3MSG
The king said, "No, he is very old.

3 Note that the phrase *senas xaa ke* (translated as 'having said so') is often used as a discourse marker by this speaker.

4 The narrator omitted a word (expected to be *inere*) here.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

19. ine ǰaa qaw ne[5] kʰoley dica
ine ǰa -e qaw nu-et kʰoley dic= -a
3SG.[+h] 1SG ERG call PTCP-3SG.do here 3SGM.bring= QM

ke , adabe , insaaniyate bar au
ke adab -e insaaniyat -e bar au-
CONJ formality GEN humanity GEN talk NEG

meyimi .
mey -imi
become.IPFV 3SG
"(If) I bring him here having called him, then (it) is not a thing of etiquette, or humanity.

20. " mapʰeer bai, ke ǰaa ii ele
mapʰeer bai ke ǰa -e ii ele
old be.PRES.3MSG CONJ 1SG ERG himself there

niyas avaaǰi "
ni -as avaaǰi
go INF ought
"He is old, so I ought to go to him myself."

21. nusenin , ine vaziire barere " ava "
nusenin ine vaziir -e bar -e -re ava
QUOT that.[+H] minister GEN talk GEN DAT yes

au nusenin nimi tʰam mapʰeer
au nu- sen -in ni -imi tʰam mapʰeer
NEG PTCP say PTCP go PST.3MSG king old

epiči
e- piči
3MSG near
Having said (DM), not having said "yes" to the minister's advice, the king went near the old man.

5 Notice the reduction of *net or netin to ne* (</nu-+et/) in *qaw ne* 'having called' in this and several other utterances by this speaker.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

22. map^{h}eere leel apim ke in
map^{h}eer -e leel a- pim ke in
old GEN find.out NEG be.PST.3SG.[–H, II] COMP 3SG

t^{h}am bai nusenin
t^{h}am bai nusenin
king be.PRES.3MSG QUOT
The old man did not know that he was the king, it is said (DM).

23. ke menen šua sisan ,
ke men-an šua sis -an
COMP who-SG.NDEF good people SG.NDEF

šua gaṭoŋik nupel , bam
šua gaṭoŋ -ik nu- pel bam
good clothing.PL PL.NDEF PTCP wear be.PST.[+H]

k^{h}ine senimi šua sisan
k^{h}in -e sen -imi šua sis -an
this.[+H] ERG say PST.3MSG good people SG.NDEF

meyimi , nusenin
mey -imi nusenin
become.IPFV 3MSG QUOT
That it was some good man (important person), (because he) was wearing good clothes, (and) he (the old man) thought he might be some nice man, it is said (DM).

24. in yakal barenas xaa ke , t^{h}ame
in i- yakal baren -as xaa ke t^{h}am -e
3SG.[+H] 3SG towards look INF after COMP king ERG

inere ǰuu etimi ,
in -e -re ǰuu et- -imi
3SG.[+H] GEN DAT greet do PST.3MSG
After looking toward him, the king greeted him.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

25. ǰuu etas xaa ke , map^{h}eere
ǰuu et -as xaa ke map^{h}eer -e
greet do -INF after COMP old ERG

ine ǰuu p^{h}ar etimi .
in -e ǰuu p^{h}ar e- t -imi
3SG.[+h] ERG greeting back 3SG do PST.3MSG
After (the king's) doing the greeting, the old man returned the greeting.

26. ine duɣarusimi , xeer xeeriyat
in -e duɣarus -imi xeer xeeriyat
3SG.[+h] ERG ask PST.3MSG welfare health

duɣarusimi ,
duɣarus -imi
ask PST.3MSG
He asked, he asked about (his) welfare.

27. duɣarusin iimo duroolu daa girimi
duɣarus -in iimo duro -ulu daa gir -imi
ask PTCP his.own work in again get busy PST.3MSG
(After) having asked (that), he (the old man) got engrossed in his own work again.

28. t^{h}ame deɣurusimi " le map^{h}eer , ume
t^{h}am -e deɣurus -imi le map^{h}eer um -e
king ERG 3MSG.ask PST.3MSG VOC old 2SG ERG

k^{h}ok tom eegiçu baa
k^{h}ok tom ee- giçu ba
these. [–H, II] tree 3SG sow.IPFV be.PRES.2SG.[+h]
The king asked him, "O old man, you are planting these trees.

29. daa ke besik buuṭik eegiçu
daa ke bes -ik buuṭ -ik ee- giçu
and COMP what PL.NDEF much PL.NDEF 3SG sow.IPFV

baa ,
ba
be.PRES.2SG.[+h]
"And then, you are planting so many of them.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

30. ume ǰaare senaa , kʰoke tomičaŋ
um -e ǰa -e -re sen -aa kʰoke tom -ičaŋ
2SG ERG 1SG GEN DAT say 2SG these.[–H, II] tree PL

neegin ese , bešal
n- ee- gi -n es -e bešal
PTCP 3SG sow PTCP that.[–H, I] GEN when

esere pʰalo yeeymi ,
es -e -re pʰalo i- yeey -imi
that.[–H, I] GEN DAT fruits 3SG carry.IPFV 3SG
"You tell me, after having planted (all) these trees, when will the fruit carry (=be ripe) on them?

31. ke ese meeva tayaar meyimi , ke
ke es -e meeva tayaar mey -imi ke
COMP that.[–H, I] GEN fruits ready become.IPFV 3SG COMP

ume ṣiçuma ,
um -e ṣi -ç -uma
2SG ERG eat-IPFV PST.2SG
"(When will it happen) that its fruits will be ready and you will eat (them)?

32 um guy akʰoormaan umuran dešqalti
um guy akʰoormaan umur -an dešqalt -i
2SG 2SG.self so.much age SG.NDEF 3SG.reach 3SG

bi , buṭ ašaato gumanu baa,
bi buṭ ašaato gu- manu ba
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] much weak 2SG become be.PRES.2SG.[+h]

umere umiid dila ke ume
um -e -re umiid dila ke um -e
2SG GEN DAT hope be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] COMP 2SG ERG

ese pʰalo ṣiçuma ?"
es -e pʰalo ṣi -ç -uma
that.[–H, I] GEN fruits eat -IPFV 2SG
"You yourself have grown so old (/have reached such an old age), (you have) become so weak. Do you have (any) hope that you will eat its fruits?"

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

33. senum kʰeene ke mapʰeere pʰar ne
sen -um kʰeene ke mapʰeer -e pʰar nu-et
say NMLZ then COMP old ERG back PTCP-do

senimi ,“ ya ǰuu umere besen zaruurat
sen -imi ya ǰuu um -e -re besen zaruurat
say PST.3MSG VOC Sir 2SG GEN DAT what need

dila ǰaacum kʰote bar
dila ǰa -e -cum kʰote bar
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] 1SG GEN from this.[–H, II] talk

duɣarusase ,”
duɣarus -as -e
ask INF GEN
Having said so (DM), the old man turned back (to him) saying, “O Sir, what is the need of you asking such a thing from me?”

34. ine, , senas xaa ke , tʰame
in -e sen -as xaa ke tʰam -e
3MSG.[+h] ERG say INF after COMP king ERG

senimi , “umere leel
sen -imi um -e -re leel
say PST.3MSG 2SG GEN DAT knowledge

apiyaa , ǰe kʰote , maa
a- pi -aa ǰe kʰote ma -e
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] QM 1SG this.[–H, II] 2PL GEN

kʰote buṣaye, mii kʰote buṣaye ,
kʰote buṣai -e mi -e kʰote buṣai -e
this.[–H, II] country GEN 1PL GEN this.[–H, II] country GEN

ǰe tʰam baa ,
je tʰam ba
1SG king be.PRES.1SG.[+h]
He, having said so (DM), the king said, “Don’t you know that I am the king of this country of yours, this country of ours?

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

35. ke ǰaare kʰote bar leel
ke ǰa -e -re kʰote bar leel
COMP 1SG GEN DAT this.[–H, II] matter knowledge

manaas avaaǰi ,
man -aas avaaǰi
become INF ought
“And (therefore) I should be aware of this matter.

36. ǰaare maa xayaal oosas dila ,
ǰa -e -re ma -e xayaa oos -as dila
1SG GEN DAT 2PL GEN thought keep INF be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]

agar teilan maamlaan manimi
agar teil -an maamla -an man -imi
if such SG.NDEF matter SG.NDEF become PST.3MSG

ke ǰaa ke besen heyam ”
ke Ja -e ke besen hey -am
COMP 1SG ERG COMP something learn.IPFV 1SG
“I have to take care of you (people). If (there) is some matter like this, then I also will learn something (from it).”

37. senas xaa ke mapʰeere senimi , “ ya
sen -as xaa ke mapʰeer -e sen -imi ya
say INF until COMP old ERG say PST.3MSG VOC

ǰu ya dukoyal tee dila ke (INAUDIBLE),
ǰu ya dukoyal tee dila ke
Sir VOC 2SG.listen such be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] COMP
Upon saying that, the old man said, “O Sir, listen, the matter is that … (FRAGMENT)

38. mii bapocaro, mii bapocaro , u
mi -e bapo -caro mi -e bapo -caro u
1PL GEN father PL 1PL GEN father PL 3PL.[+h]

tomičaŋ eegiman , uu amit
tom -ičaŋ ee- gi -uman u -e amit
tree PL 3SG sow PST.3PL 3PL.[+h] -ERG which.SG.[–H, II]

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

vaxtulu		tomičaŋ		eegiman			ke ,
vaxt	-ulu	tom	-ičaŋ	ee-	gi	-uman	ke
time	in	tree	PL	3SG	sow	PST.3PL	COMP

"Our grandparents, our ancestors, sowed your trees, at the time when they sowed those trees … (FRAGMENT)

39.

esere ,			u	duniyaalu		au
es	-e	-re	u	duniya	-ulu	au-
that.[–H, I]	GEN	DAT	3PL.[+h]	world	in	NEG

duvasuman			
d-	u-	vas	-uman
d	3PL	left.behind	PST.PL.[+h]

"To that (FALSE START), they did not live forever (=they did not stay in the world).

40.

magar	ese		pʰal	mii		ṣiman	,
magar	es	-e	pʰal	mi	-e	ṣi-	-uman
but	that.[–H, I]	GEN	fruit	1PL	ERG	eat	PST.PL.[+h]

u	uymo	bapocaro		(INAUDIBLE)
u	uymo	bapo	-caro	
3PL.[+h]	their.own	father	PL	

amik	eegi		bam	ke
amik	ee-	gi	bam	ke
which.PL.[–H, II]	3SG	sow	be.PST.P.[+h]	COMP

"But its fruit, we ate that … those (fruits) which their parents/ancestors had sowed (FRAGMENT).

41.

ese		pʰal	, ese		meeva ,	
es	-e	pʰal	es	-e	meeva	
that.[–H, I]	GEN	fruits	that.[–H, I]	GEN	fruits	

ese		pʰalo	u	au	ṣimana		,	
es	-e	pʰalo	u	au	ṣi	-uman	-a	
that.[–H, I]	GEN	fruits	3PL.[+h]	NEG	eat	PST.PL.[+h]	QM	

"Its fruit, did they not eat its fruit?

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

42. manum kʰeene ǰaa ke eegica
man -um kʰeen -e ǰa -e ke ee- gica
become NMLZ time GEN 1SG ERG also 3SG sow.IPFV

baa ,
ba
be.PRES.1SG.[+h]
"With that having happened, I too planted (trees).

43. agar ǰaa au ṣiyaa (INAUDIBLE)
agar ǰa -e au- ṣi -aa
if 1SG ERG NEG eat 1SG

manimi , ǰaa ǰeymo mapʰerišo ,
man -imi ǰa -e ǰe -y -mo mapʰer -išo
become PST.3MSG 1SG GEN 1SG own GEN old PL

buzurgišo uu mehnate pʰal
buzurg -išo u -e mehnat -e pʰal
elderly PL 3PL.[+h] GEN labor GEN fruit

ǰaa Aṣiya baa ,
ǰa -a ṣi -a ba
1SG ERG eat 1SG be.PRES.1SG.[+h]
"If I had not eaten (them), ... (INAUDIBLE) happened. I have eaten the fruit of my elders' hard work.

44. uu mehnate pʰalo ǰaa ṣiya
u -e mehnat -e pʰalo ǰa -e ṣi -a
3PL.[+h] GEN labour GEN fruits 1SG ERG eat 1SG

baa ǰaa mehnate pʰal ǰaa
baa ǰa -a mehnat -e pʰal ǰa -e
be. PRES.1SG 1SG ERG labour GEN fruit 1SG GEN

aulaade ṣicuman "
aulaad -e ṣi -c -uman
children ERG eat-IPFV PL.[+h]
"I have eaten the fruits of their hard work; my children will eat the fruits of my hard work."

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

45. senuman,[6] tʰam xoš imanimi , buṭ
sen -uman tʰam xoš i- man -imi buṭ
say PST.PL.[+h] king happy 3MSG be PST.3MSG much

xoš nimanin in
xoš n- i- man -in in
happy PTCP 3MSG be PTCP 3SG.[+h]

inere, boorman ašrafiimucik
in -e -re boorman ašrafii -muc -ik
3SG.[+h] GEN DAT how.many gold coin PL PL.NDEF

inere yuumi
in -e -re i- u -imi
3SG.[+h] GEN DAT 3MSG give PST.3MSG
They said (DM), the king felt happy, he felt very happy and he gave him some gold coins.

46. senimi “ lee (INAUDIBLE) mapʰeer , ume buṭ
sen -imi lee mapʰeer um -e buṭ
say PST.3MSG VOC old 2SG ERG great

dorovan eču baa buṭ šua
doro -an e- ču ba buṭ šua
work SG.NDEF 3SG do.IPFV be.PRES.2SG.[+h] much good

eču baa , kʰok ǰaa
e- ču ba kʰok ǰa -e
3SG do.IPFV be.PRES.2SG.[+h] these.[–H, II] 1SG GEN

eyikaṭum umere.”
a- ik -aṭ -um um -e -re
1SG name on from 2SG GEN DAT
He said, “O old man, you are doing a lot of work, you are doing good work, this is for you from me (= in my name).”

6 It seems *senuman* ‘say.PST.PL’ is used as a discourse marker here and in some other instances in the text.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

47. senuman , map^{h}eere senimi “ yaa , ǰuu
sen -uman map^{h}eer -e sen -imi yaa ǰuu
say PST.PL.[+h] old ERG say PST.3MSG VOC Sir

yaa meharbaani , ǰuu yaa , ke , han bar
yaa meharbaani ǰuu yaa ke han bar
VOC kindness Sir VOC and one.[–H, I] talk

gošam ”
go- š -am
2SG say.IPFV 1SG
They said (DM), the old man said, “O Sir, O thank you. O Sir, I will say something to you.”

48. senas ke [7], t^{h}ame senimi , “ besen
sen -as ke t^{h}am -e sen -imi besen
say INF COMP king ERG say PST.3MSG what

sey baa , sen ”
sey ba sen
say. IPFV be.PRES.1SG.[+h] say.IMP
After saying that, the king said, “Say, say what you will say.”

49. senimi “ ǰaa map^{h}eerišo amik
sen -imi ǰa -e map^{h}eer -išo amik
say PST.3MSG 1SG GEN old PL which.PL.[–H, II]

tomičaŋ eegi bam ke ,
tom -ičaŋ ee- gi bam ke
tree PL 3SG sow be.PST.[+h] COMP
He (the old man) said, “Those trees which my elders sowed …

7 It seems the speaker meant to say *senas xaa* ke instead.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

50. ese pʰalo agar men divasi bam ke ,
es -e pʰalo agar men divasi bam ke
that.[–H, I] GEN fruits if who remain.3SG be.PST.3PL.[+h] and

toormaan (INAUDIBLE) xaašiŋ ... ete
toormaan xaašiŋ et e
this.much until that.[–H, II] GEN

vaxtulu (INAUDIBLE)
vaxt -ulu
time in
"The fruits of that one, if someone remained (lived forever), and a lot ... until that time ...(FRAGMENT)

51. kaafi mudatan niin uuere
kaafi mudat -an ni -in uu -e -re
enough period SG.NDEF go PTCP 3PL.[+h] GEN DAT

ese tomičaŋ pʰalo (INAUDIBLE)
es -e tom -ičaŋ- pʰalo
that.[–H, I] GEN tree PL -GEN fruits
"A lot of time passed, for them the fruit of those trees ... (FRAGMENT)

52. uu bam ke uu ṣiman ,
uu bam ke u -e ṣi -uman
3PL.[+h] be.PST.3SG.[+h] then 3PL.[+h] ERG eat PST.PL.[+h]

apam ke uu aulaade
a- pam ke u -e aulaad -e
NEG be.PST.[+h] then 3PL.[+h] GEN children GEN

ṣiman , magar ǰaa tome tei
ṣi -uman magar ǰa -e tom -e tei
eat PST.PL.[+h] but 1SG GEN tree GEN such

toman dila kʰot ume
tom -an dila kʰot um -e
tree SG.NDEF be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] this.[–H, II] 2SG GEN

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

tomičaŋ (INAUDIBLE)
tom -ičaŋ
tree PL
"(If) they were alive then they ate (of them), if they were not alive then their children ate (of them). But my tree is such a tree that your trees … (FRAGMENT)

53. ǰaare eegicumane
ǰa -e -re ee- gi -cu -mane
1SG GEN DAT 3SG sow IPFV become

eegicumane pʰalo
ee- gi -cu -mane pʰalo
3SG sow IPFV become fruits

ayeeyam , (INAUDIBLE)"
a- yeey -am
NEG carry.IPFV 1SG
"I cannot get its fruit while planting the tree …"

54. in yuvum ece ašrafimuc
in i- u -um ece ašrafi -muc
3SG.[+h] 3MSG give NMLZ those.[–H, I] gold.coin PL

eeltirum
ee- ltir -um
3MSG show NMLZ
He showed him the gold coins which he (the king) had given him.

55. tʰam daa xoš imanimi , senimi ,
tʰam daa xoš i- man -imi sen -imi
king again happy 3MSG be PST.3MSG say PST.3MSG

senimi, " buṭ sahii sey ba , buṭ
sen -imi buṭ sahii sey ba buṭ
say PST.3MSG much right say. IPFV be.PRES.2SG.[+h] much

uyam baran (INAUDIBLE)," daa tʰilik
uyam bar -an daa tʰil -ik
sweet talk SG.NDEF and little.more -PL.NDEF

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

yuumi ,
i- u -imi
3MSG give PST.3MSG
… Again, the king was happy, he said, he said, "You are very right, these are nice words (that you said)," and he gave him some more (coins).

56. yuyas xaa ke es ke niyan
i -u -as xaa ke es ke n- i- yan
3MSG give INF after COMP that.[–H, I] COMP PTCP 3SG take

ǰuuvan netin tʰame
ǰuu -an n- e- t -in tʰam -e
thanks SG.NDEF PTCP 3MSG do PTCP king GEN

eriŋaṭe boozan delimi ,
e- riŋ -aṭe booz -an del -imi
3MSG hand on kiss SG.NDEF hit PST.3MSG
After he received them, he took them, thanked (him for them), and he kissed the king's hand.

57. senimi " ǰaa tʰam , uu tomičaŋe
sen -imi jaa tʰam u -e tom -ičaŋ -e
say PST.3 MSG 1SG.GEN king 3PL.[+h] GEN tree PL GEN

yoo— (FALSE.START) yoole gaṭulu hik
yoo yool -e gaṭ -ulu hik
year GEN together in one.[–H, II]

pʰalo uuči bim ,
pʰalo u- u -či bim
fruits 3PL give IPFV be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
He said, "O my king, their trees gave fruits once a year.

58. ǰaa tomičaŋe ǰoṭkušimo ii
ja -e tom -ičaŋ -e ǰoṭkuši -mo ii
1SG GEN tree PL GEN childhood during EMP

eegicumene eegicumene ,
ee- gi -cu -mene ee- gi -cu -mene
3SG.[–H, II] sow IPFV become 3SG. sow IPFV become

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

niin
ni -in
go PTCP
"My trees, while planting them during childhood, having gone … (FRAGMENT)

59. han vaxtulu ii altar pʰalo ǰoomi, "
han vaxt -ulu ii altar pʰalo ǰoo -imi
one.[–H, I] time in EMP twenty fruits 1SG.give PST.3SG
"It gave me twenty fruits at a time"

60. senas xaa ke tʰame senimi ,
sen -as xaa ke tʰam -e sen -imi
say INF after COMP king ERG say PST.3MSG

senimi , " ava le , et guumi
sen -imi ava le et gu- u -imi
say PST.3MSG yes VOC that.[–H, II] 2SG give PST.3SG

han meharbaaniyan baran baran
han meharbaani -an bar -an baran -an
one.[–H, I] kindness SG.NDEF talk SG.NDEF kindness SG.NDEF

gošam ke ,
go- š -am ke
2SG say.IPFV 1SG COMP
Having said so (DM), the king said, "Oh yes, it gave (them) to you. I will tell you something kindly.

61. umere manimi (INAUDIBLE) ǰa (INAUDIBLE)
um -e -re man -imi ǰa
2SG GEN DAT exist PST.3SG 1SG

meharbaani netin ,[8]
meharbaani n- et -in
kindness PTCP do PTCP
"It is for you … I … Please … (FRAGMENT)

8 While *meharbaani netin* literally means 'having done kindness', it is a calque borrowed from Urdu *meharbani karke* which has a similar literal meaning but is often used in requests in the sense of 'kindly' or 'please'. Thus, here, the king in the story is requesting the old man to accept the gold coins as a gift.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

62. ume tomičaŋe ... ... alto (INAUDIBLE)
um -e tom -ičaŋ -e alto
2SG GEN tree PL ERG two.[–H, II]

umere pʰalo eegicume-eegicume
um -e -re pʰalo eegicu mane -eegicumane
2SG GEN DAT fruits 3SG.SOW.IPFV become -RED

guumi (INAUDIBLE) daa
gu- u -imi daa
2SG give PST.3SG and

tʰilik iski ... (INAUDIBLE)
tʰil -ik iski
little.more PL.NDEF three
"Your trees ... two ... (these trees) gave you fruit while you were planting them..... and (have) some more, three more ... (FRAGMENT)[9]

63. ke muu daa tei baran
ke muu daa tei bar -an
and now again that talk SG.NDEF

ayeti ke ǰaa (INAUDIBLE)
a- e- t -i ke ǰa -e
NEG 3SG.[–H, II] do SG.IMP COMP 1SG GEN

ǰaa kʰuultolu [...] guuyam"
ja -e kʰuulto -lu gu- u -am
1SG ERG now in 2SG give PST.1SG
"And now again, don't say a word (to anyone about the fact that) I gave you (these coins) today ..."

9 The king (as the narrator says in direct speech) is offering gold coins to the old man and sort of counting them intermittently while talking.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

64. (senas) xaa ke ,[10] map^{h}eere
sen-as xaa ke map^{h}eer -e
say-INF after COMP old ERG

ine booziyan ḍak netin ,
in -e boozi -an ḍak n- et -in
3SG.[+h] GEN kiss SG.NDEF lead PTCP do PTCP

es
es
that.[−H, I]
After that, the old man kissed his hand again ... it (FRAGMENT)

65. ašrafimuc yanimi, ke ele .
ašrafi -muc i- yan -imi ke ele
gold.coin PL 3SG take PST.3MSG and there
He took the gold coins, and there ... (FRAGMENT)

66. ine t^{h}ame ... ine ete bare
ine t^{h}am -e in -e et -e bare
3SG.[+h] king ERG 3SG.[+h] ERG that.[−H, II] GEN look

niyecinin[11] , tei , šua-šua doroiŋe
nu- i- yec -in-in tei šua-šua doro -iŋ -e
PTCP 3SG see PTCP PTCP that good -RED work PL GEN

buniyaad oosimi ,
buniyaad oos -imi
foundation put PST.3MSG
That king, he (the king) saw him and laid a foundation for several good things (=works).

10 It looks like the speaker meant to say *senas xaa ke* but seems to have dropped *senas*.
11 Notice the (occasional) repetition of the participial suffix *-in* in this speaker's speech.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

67. amite faayda ine
amit -e faayda in -e
which.SG.[–H, II] GEN benefit 3SG.[+h] GEN

buṣayere mudate xaašiŋ uya
buṣai -e -re mudat -e xaašiŋ u- yan
country GEN DAT period GEN until 3PL take

baan
baan
be.PRES.PL.[+h]
The people of his land benefited from this for many years.

68. manum kʰeene yeṭe nimas pʰaṣ manimi
man -um kʰeene yaṭe nimas pʰaṣ man -imi
become NMLZ time.GEN on story end become PST.3SG
This having happened, the story ended.

Loi ke biiro

'A Fox and a Rooster'[12]

1. nimas dila ǰoṭumuce gane
nimas dila ǰoṭ -umuc -e gane
story be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] small PL GEN for
(It) is a story for children.

2. uure osulu oobišeču
u -e -re o- s -ulu oo- bišeču
3PL.[+h] GEN DAT 3PL heart in NEG put.IPFV

baan ki insaane amit vaxtulu
baan ki insaan -e amit vaxt- ulu
be.PRES.PL.[+h] COMP human ERG which.SG.[–H, II] time in

bezele doro etas avaaǰi
bezele doro et-as avaaǰi
how work 3MSG.do-INF ought
To get them to understand how one ought to work at that time.

12 This story also was narrated by (late) Raja Safdar Ali Khan.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

3. nimase iik dila “loi ke biiro ”
nimas -e i- ik dila loi ke biiro
story GEN 3SG name be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] fox COMP rooster
The name of the story is “The fox and the rooster”

4. sey baan , han loyan
sey baan han loi -an
say. IPFV be PRESPL.[+h] one.[–H, I] fox. SGNDEF

bim
bim
be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
(They) say (there) was a fox.

5. han gunculu es cʰamni imanimi ke
han gunc -ulu es cʰamni i- man -imi ke
one.[–H, I] day in that.[–H, I] hungry 3SG be PST.3SG COMP

iimu, besan, ṣapikan , ṣiyas
iimu besan ṣapik -an ṣi -as
his own what food SG.NDEF 3SG.eat INF

minaasan yagučumane gucʰarimi
min -aas -an yaguču -mane gucʰar -imi
drink INF SG.NDEF search. IPFV become walk PST.3SG
One day he felt hungry and he went in search of his, something, (in search of) some food and drink.

6. ke iŋi yeecimi han giraman
ke i- ŋi i- yeec -imi han giram -an
COMP 3SG front 3SG see PST.3MSG one.[–H, I] village SG.NDEF

dilum
dilum
be.PST.3SG.[–H, II]
And, in front of him, he saw there was a village.

7. ese maliŋ haraaŋulu ,
es -e mal -iŋ haraaŋ -ulu
that.[–H, I] GEN cultivable.field PL among in

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ke	ese			maliŋulu		
ke	es		-e	mal	-iŋ	-ulu
COMP	that.[–H, I]		GEN	cultivable.field	PL	in

yeecimi				qarqaamučoyik		buṭik
i-	yeec	-imi		qarqaamučo	-ik	buṭ-ik
3SG	see	PST.3MSG		poultry	PL.NDEF	many PL.NDEF

biyom
biyom
be.PST.PL.[–H, I]
In (the middle of) those fields … and in those very fields he saw there were many fowls.

8.

k^{h}os	loi	amis	bim		ke	es
k^{h}os	loi	amis	bim		ke	es
this.[–H, I]	fox	which.[–H, I]	be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]		COMP	that.[–H, I]

map^{h}eer bim
map^{h}eer bim
old be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
The fox which was …, it was old.

9.

amis	qarqaamucan			maniṣ		, yaa	
amis	qarqaamuc	-an		man	-iṣ	yaa	
which.[–H, I]	rooster	SG.NDEF		become	OPT	or	

amis	ke	balacan		maniṣ		, p^{h}ur	au	
amis	ke	balac	-an	man	-iṣ	p^{h}ur	au-	
which.[–H, I]	COMP	bird	SG.NDEF	become	OPT	flight	NEG	

delas		tei	balacan		ici		nukaarcinin		
del	-as	tei	balac	-an	i-	ci	nu-	kaarc	-inin
hit	INF	such	bird	SG.NDEF	3SG	after	PTCP	run	PTCP

doonas		esulu		toormaan	gunǰaayiš	
doon	-as	es	-ulu	toormaan	gunǰaayiš	
start	INF	that.[–H, I]	in	this.much	capacity	

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

apim
a- pim
NEG be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
If (there) were a fowl, or if (there) were a bird which could not (even) fly, (there) was no ability (capacity) in that (fox) to (even) run after that, to catch it (i.e., such a bird).

10. ke es be etimi , tʰala= tʰala
ke es be et -imi tʰala= tʰala
COMP that.[–H, I] what do PST.3MSG slowly RED

niin asiir nimi ke
ni -in asiir ni -imi ke
go PTCP near go PST.3MSG COMP
So what it did was, walking very slowly, it went close (to it), and …

11. amitulu qarqaamučo loi yeecimi ,
amit -ulu qarqaamučo loi i- yeec -imi
which.SG.[–H, II] in fowls fox 3SG see PST.3MSG

ke os gusumiyo
ke o- s gusu -miyo
COMP 3PL heart be afraid PST.PL.[–H, I]
When the fowls saw the fox, they were frightened (Lit. 'their heart was afraid').

12. es gaarcas doonimi ,
es gaarc -as doon -imi
that.[–H, I] run INF start PST.3MSG
It started running.

13. es gaarcas xaaṣe , es , alese , qaw
es gaarc -as xaaṣe es ales qaw
that.[–H, I] run INF until that.[–H, I] that call

etimi , loye qaw etimi ,
et- -imi loi -e qaw et- -imi
do PST.3MSG fox ERG call do PST.3MSG

“lee qarqaamučo le, ǰe maa kaaṭe …, ǰe maa
lee qarqaamučo le ǰe ma -e kaaṭe ǰe ma -e
VOC poultry 1SG 2PL GEN with 1SG 2PL GEN

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

	maṣucere				au	daaya	ba	,
	ma-	ṣu	-c	-e	-re	au-	daaya	ba
	2PL	eat	IPFV	GEN	DAT	NEG	come.1SG	be.PRES.1SG.[+h]

As it ran (=Until it ran), it, (like) that, the fox called: "O Qarqaamučo (used as a proper name here), with you, I … I have not come to eat you (all).

14.	ǰe	maa	kaaṭe	besen	dušmaniyan	
	je	ma -e	kaaṭe	besen	dušmani	-an
	1SG	2PL GEN	with	what	enmity	SG.NDEF

	api	,
	a-	pi
	NEG	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]

"I do not have any animosity toward you.

15.	ǰaare		besen	ɣam	ke	parešaaniyan			
	ja	-e -re	besen	ɣam	ke	parešaani	-an		
	1SG	GEN DAT	what	sorrow	COMP	problem	SG.NDEF		

	api	,	ke	albata	ǰe	maa		kaaṭe
	a-	pi	ke	albata	je	ma	-e	kaaṭe
	NEG	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]	COMP	however	1SG	2PL	GEN	with

	han	šua	baran	,	čaɣa	baran	,
	han	šua	bar -an		čaɣa	bar	-an
	one.[−H, I]	good	talk SG.NDEF		talk	talk	SG.NDEF

	etas	raq	eča		ba
	et	-as	raq	eč -a	ba
	do	INF	desire	do.IPFV 1SG	be.PRES.1SG.[+h]

"I do not have any sorrow or any trouble (because of you). However, I wish to have a good talk, some words, with you.

16.	ke	kʰose	biiro	apiya			,
	ke	kʰose	biiro	a	pi		-a
	COMP	this.[−H, I]	rooster	NEG	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]		QM

	kʰos	biiro	yuu	ǰaa	šugulu	bam,	
	kʰos	biiro	i-	u	ja -e	šugulu	bam
	this.[−H, I]	rooster	3MSG	father	1SG GEN	friend	be.PST.3SG.[+h]

"And this rooster, isn't it (Tag question) … this rooster's father was my friend.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

17. ǰa ke es biiro yuu …, ǰaa šugulu
ja ke es biiro-e i- u ja -e šugulu
1SG and that.[–H, I] rooster-GEN 3SG father 1SG GEN friend

bim ,
bim
be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
"I and that rooster's father…., (the rooster's father) was my friend.

18. ke muu ǰa ine mutalaq , maare ine
ke muu ja ine mutalaq ma -e -re ine
COMP now 1SG that.[+h] regarding 2PL GEN DAT that.[+h]

duɣarusasere daaya ba
duɣarus -as -e -re daaya ba
ask INF GEN DAT come.1 SG be.PRES.1SG.[+h]
"Now, I have come to you (people) to ask about him.

19. ke ma mas au gusuyiin , ma au gaarciin ,
ke ma ma- -s au- gusuy -iin ma au- gaarc -iin
and 2PL 2PL heart NEG be afraid IMP 2PL NEG run IMP
"And, (please) don't be afraid, don't run away."

20. te ine uyaami-uyaami čaɣamiŋ netinin ,
te ine uyaami-uyaami čaɣa -miŋ n- et -in-in
so that.[+h] sweet-RED talk PL PTCP do PTCP-PTCP

es uu asiir ničі bi
es u-e asiir ni -č -i bi
that.[–H, I] 3PL-GEN near go IPFV 3SG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
Thus, having done some sweet-talking, he (it) goes near them.

21. ese duɣaresum kʰeene ke biiro sey
es -e duɣares -um kʰeene ke biiro sey
that.[–H, I] GEN ask NMLZ time.GEN COMP rooster say.IPFV

bi , sey bi ke , es
bi sey bi ke es
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] say.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] COMP that.[–H, I]

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

purmo maalike eṣumi ...
purmo maalik -e i- ṣu -imi
long.ago owner GEN 3SG eat PST.3SG
After his asking (that), the rooster says, it says that (his) owner ate him long ago.

22. es zabah etuman , muu ese
es zabah e- t -uman muu es -e
that.[–H, I] sacrifice 3SG do PST.PL now that.[–H, I] GEN

dišulu ǰe ba
diš -ulu je ba
place in 1SG be.PRES.1SG.[+h]
"It was sacrificed, (and) now I am in its place.

23. ke ǰa umere besen gošam es
ke ja um -e -re besen go- š -am es
COMP 1SG 2SG GEN DAT what 2SG say.IPFV 1SG that.[–H, I]

biiro bezele bim , ume guu
biiro bezele bim um -e gu- u
rooster how be.PST.3SG.[–H, I] 2SG GEN 2SG father

bezele bam , et dilum kʰot
bezele bam et dilum kʰot
how be.PST.3SG.[+h] that.[–H, II] be.PST.3SG.[–H, II] this.[–H, II]

dilum ,
dilum
be.PST.3SG.[–H, II]
"Now what should I tell you, what kind of a rooster it was. What type (of a person) your father was ... It was like such-and-such ..."

24. buṭan čaɣa esere eči
buṭ -an čaɣa es -e -re e- či
much SG.NDEF talk 3SG.[–H, I] GEN DAT 3SG do.IPFV

bi , ke ...](INAUDIBLE) " ese
bi ke es -e
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] COMP that.[–H, I] ERG

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

amitulu ququruuču
amit -ulu ququruuču
which.SG.[–H, II] in cock-a-doodle-doo

eči bim ǰaare ete
eč -i bim ǰa -e -re ete
do.IPFV 3SG be.PST.3SG.[–H, I] SG GEN DAT that.[–H, II]

vaxtulu buṭ šua γeyeči bim ,
vaxt- ulu buṭ šua γeyeč -i bim
time in much good seem.IPFV 3SG be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
(He) tells it many things, (like): "When that rooster used to go, 'Cock-a-doodle-doo!' I used to feel very good at that time.

25. ǰaaṭe mastii mey bim ,
ja -e -ṭe mastii mey bim
1SG GEN on intoxicated become.IPFV be.PST.3SG.[–H, I]
"I used to become engrossed (in it).

26. magar ǰaa xayaalulu umere
magar ja -e xayaal -ulu um -e -re
but 1SG GEN thought in 2SG GEN DAT

teelan au uleema
teel -an au- uleyuma
such SG.NDEF NEG be.able.IPFV.2SG
"But, in my view, you won't be able to do like that."

27. senas xaa ke biiro sey bi ke
sen -as xaa ke biiro sey bi ke
say INF after COMP rooster say.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] COMP

ese čaγamiŋ kaaṭe es bevaquuf
es -e čaγa -miŋ kaaṭe es bevaquuf
that.[–H, I] GEN talk PL with that.[–H, I] fool

imey bi ,
i- mey bi
3SG become.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
Having said that (DM), the rooster says … because of its (the fox's) talks, it (the rooster) becomes a fool.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

28. ese matu puura doro ayeči
es -e matu puura doro a- eč -i
that.[–H, I] GEN brain complete work NEG do.IPFV 3SG.[–H, I]

bi
bi
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
Its (the rooster's) mind stops working altogether.

29. ke biiro sey bi "ǰe escum ,
ke biiro sey bi je es -cum
and rooster say.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] 1SG that.[–H, I] from

aucum ke šua ɣaraas ulaya
a- u -cum ke šua ar -aas ulaya
1SG father from COMP good sing INF can.IPFV

ba
ba
be.PRES.1SG.[+h]
And the rooster says, "I can make an even better sound than him, than my father.

30. ǰaa ač^{h}ar escum ke saaf
ja -e a- č^{h}ar es -cum ke saaf
1SG GEN 1SG voice that.[–H, I] from COMP clear

dila , t^{h}aanum dila ,
dila t^{h}aanum dila
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] high be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
"My voice is even clearer than his, louder than his.

31. mat^{h}an niyas ke xaašiŋ dila , ke uyam
mat^{h}an ni -as ke xaašiŋ dila ke uyam
distance go INF COMP until be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] COMP sweet

dila ... (INAUDIBLE)
dila
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
"(It) is far-reaching (strong/high-pitched), and (it) is sweet."

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

32. te ine čaɣa etas xaa ke loye
te ine čaɣa et -as xaa ke loi -e
so that.[+h] talk do INF while COMP fox ERG

senimi “ be ǰaa ǰi , ǰaare
sen -imi be ja -e ǰi ja -e -re
say PST.3MSG no 1SG GEN life 1SG GEN DAT

teilan au ɣayeči bi ,”
teil -an au- ɣayeč -i bi
such SG.NDEF NEG feel.IPFV -3SG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
So, as (soon as) he did such talking, the fox said, “No, my dear (=my life), I don’t think so.”

33. biiro sey bi “ parvaa
biiro sey bi parvaa
rooster say.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] worry

api, gos ayeeri .ǰa
a- pi go- s a- eer -i ǰa
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] 2SG heart NEG lose SG.IMP 1SG

go- eltarčam .
go- eltarč -am
2SG show.IPFV 1SG
The rooster says, “No worry. Do not lose your heart. I will show you.”

34. ho , biiro ququruuču etas raq
ho biiro ququruuču et -as raq
then rooster cock-a-doodle-doo do INF like

eči bi
eč -i bi
do.IPFV 3SG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
Then, the rooster wants to go, “Cock-a-doodle-doo!”

35. ke biiro qaida dila amit
ke biiro-e qaida dila amit
and rooster-GEN trend be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] which.SG.[–H, II]

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

vaxtulu ese ququruucu eči ke
vaxt- ulu es -e ququruuču eč -i ke
time in that.[–H, I] GEN cock-a-doodle-doo do.IPFV 3SG COMP

ese aval galgimiŋ ram-ram ram eči
ese aval galgi -miŋ ram-ram ram eč -i
that.[–H, I] first wing PL beat-RED beat do.IPFV 3SG

bi ,
bi
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
And a trend with a rooster is that, when it (a rooster) goes, "Cock-a-doodle-doo!" it first flaps its wings.

36. ram-ram netin ilčimuc ṭamne ,
ram-ram n- et -in i- lči -muc ṭam net
beat-RED PTCP do PTCP 3SG eye PL close PTCP.do

eṣ ɣosaanumne , ququruuču eči
e- ṣ ɣosaanum net ququruuču eč -i
3SG neck stretch PTCP.do cock-a-doodle-doo do.IPFV 3SG

bi ,
bi
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
(After) having flapped its wings, it closes its eyes, stretches its neck, and goes, "Cock-a-doodle-doo!"

37. iimu ete iǰʰar ..., amitulu
iimu ete i- ǰʰar amit -ulu
his.own that.[–H, II] 3MSG voice which.SG.[–H, II] in

ese galgimiŋ ram-ram etimi
es -e galgi -miŋ ram-ram et -imi
that.[–H, I] GEN wing PL beat- RED do PST.3SG
That voice of it (=his)... when it beat its wings ...

38. ram ne , es ɣusaanum ququruuču ečam
ram net es ɣusaanum ququruuču eč -am
beat PTCP.do that.[–H, I] high/long cock-a-doodle-doo do.IPFV 1SG

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

senas		xaa	ke	loye		ɣaṣapne			es
sen	-as	xaa	ke	loi	-e	ɣaṣap	net		es
say	INF	until	COMP	fox	ERG	mop	PTCP.3SG.do		that.[−H, I]

duunimi
duun -imi
catch PST.3MSG
After beating its wings, as soon as it wanted to make a long "Cock-a-doodle-doo!" the fox caught it.

39.	duunimi		ke	... (INAUDIBLE)	le	kʰot		be
	duun	-imi	ke		le	kʰot		be
	catch	PST.3MSG	COMP		VOC	this.[−H, II]		what

	eču	ba	,
	eču	ba	
	do.IPFV	be.PRES.1SG.[+h]	

Caught it and (INAUDIBLE)... (They rooster said,) "Hey! What are you doing?"

40.	qiwpiw	etas		xaa	ke	,	senimi		
	qiw-piw	et	-as	xaa	ke		sen	-imi	
	grunt-RED	do	INF	after	COMP		say	PST.3SG	

"	ǰaare			ume			gučʰarere		
	ǰa	-e	-re	um	-e		gu-	čʰar	-e	-re
	1SG	GEN	DAT	2SG	GEN		2SG	voice	GEN	DAT

beetas			dila?	"
be	et	-as	dila	
what	do INF		be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]	

After rooster making noise, it (the fox) said, "What will I do with your voice?

41.	ǰe	ç^{h}amne	ba		ǰaare			ṣapik
	ǰe	ç^{h}amne	ba		ja	-e	-re	ṣapik
	1SG	hunger	be.PRES.1SG.[+h]		1SG	GEN	DAT	food

api		,
a-	pi	
NEG	be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]	

"I am hungry. I have no food."

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

42. qarqaamučo qiwpiriw ečimene vaavaila
qarqaamučo qiw-piriw eč -i -mene vaavaila
poultry grunt-RED (Onom.) do.IPFV 3SG become woe

mey bi ,
mey bi
become.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
As the bird makes noise, there is a commotion.

43. šoor menaas xaa ke ele buṭan γaraw
šoor man -aas xaa ke ele buṭ -an γaraw
noise become INF after COMP there much SG.NDEF noise

mey bi
mey bi
become be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
After it becomes loud, it becomes noisy there.

44. menaas xaa ke , girame sisare
men -aas xaa ke giram -e sis -a -re
become INF after COMP village GEN people GEN DAT

leel mey bi ,
leel mey bi
find.out become.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[−H]
When that happens, the people of the village become aware (of it).

45. girame ele hukayuk biyom ece
giram -e ele huk -ayuk biyom ece
village GEN there dog PL be.PST.PL.[−H, I] those.[−H, I]

barey biyom
barey biyom
watch.IPFV be.PST.PL.[−H, I]
There were dogs there in the village, they were watching.

46. berenas xaa ke loye biiro
beren -as xaa ke loi -e biiro
look INF after COMP fox ERG rooster

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

niyan gaarši bi
ni- yan gaarš -i bi
PTCP.3SG take run.IPFV 3SG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
While (they) watch, the fox, having grabbed the rooster, runs.

47. muu biiro uyum mey bi
muu biiro uyum mey bi
now rooster big become.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]

ese ixači … esere
es -e i- xači es -e -re
that.[−H, I] GEN 3SG mouth.LOC that.[−H, I] GEN DAT

cʰuum mey bi
cʰuum mey bi
heavy become.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
Now (since) the rooster is big, it becomes (too) heavy for its (the fox's) mouth, for it (to carry it).

48. ke hukayo asiir dooṣqaltas xaa ke , biiro
ke huk -ayo asiir dooṣqalt -as xaa ke biiro
and dog PL near reach.[−H, II] -INF after COMP rooster

sey bi "le ! muutu ume ǰaa
sey bi le muutu um -e ǰa -e
say.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] VOC now 2SG GEN 1SG GEN

aṣiçu ba han čiizan , han
a- ṣi-çu ba han čiiz -an han
1SG eat-IPFV be.PRES.2SG.[+h] one thing SG.NDEF one

baran ume kʰu hukayore sen
bar -an um -e kʰu huk -ayo -re sen
talk SG.NDEF 2SG GEN these dog PL DAT say
And the dogs having come close, the rooster says, "Hey! Now (that) you are going to eat me (up), say one thing, one talk to these dogs …

49. sen " le ! kʰos biiro maa alesulum ,
sen le kʰos biiro ma -e ales -ul -um
say VOC this.[−H, I] rooster 2PL GEN that in from

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

giramulum api , ǰaa kʰos
giram -ul -um a- pi ǰa -e kʰos
village in from NEG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] 1SG GEN this.[−H, I]

biiro elum giramulum dica
biiro el -um giram -ul -um dic -a
rooster there from village in from 3SG.bring 1SG

ba
ba
be.PRES.1SG.[+h]
"Tell (them), 'Hey! This rooster is not from your village. I have brought this rooster from that other village.

50. maa xaamaxaa šoor bes eču baan,
ma -e xaamaxaa šoor bes e- ču baan
2PL ERG noise noise why 3SG do.IPFV be.PRES.PL.[+h]

maa bes ɣaraw eču baan
ma -e bes ɣaraw e- ču baan
2PL ERG why noise 3SG do.IPFV be.PRES.PL.[+h]
"(And tell them) 'Why are you all making noise for no reason, why are you all raising a commotion?'

51. senas xaa ke , ǰaa ke seyam
sen -as xaa ke ǰa -e ke sey -am
say INF after COMP 1SG GEN COMP say.IPFV 1SG

uure
u -e -re
3PL.[+h] GEN DAT
"After (you) saying so, I also will tell them …"

52. senum kʰeene loye senimi " buṭ šua "
sen -um kʰeene loi -e sen -imi buṭ šua
say NMLZ time.GEN fox ERG say PST.3MSG much good
After having said that, the fox said, "Very good."

53. ixat baato netin čaɣa etas
i- xat baato n- e- t -in čaɣa et -as
3SG mouth open PTCP 3SG do PTCP talk do INF

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

raq eči bi
raq eč -i bi
desire do.IPFV 3SG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
Having opened its mouth, it (the fox) wants to talk.

54. pʰut netin ese hukayo
pʰut n- et -in es -e huk -ayo -e
turn PTCP do PTCP that.[−H, I] GEN dog PL GEN

kaa čaɣa etas raq eči
kaa čaɣa et -as raq eč -i
with talk do INF desire do.IPFV 3SG

bi ke ... (INAUDIBLE)
bi ke
be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] COMP
Having turned around, as it wants to talk with the dogs....

55. senas xaa ke , " le ! kʰos maa girame
sen -as xaa ke le kʰos ma -e giram -e
say INF after COMP VOC this.[−H, I] 2PL GEN village GEN

biiro api ; ǰaa kʰos biiro
biiro a- pi ǰa -e kʰos biiro
rooster NEG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] 1SG GEN this.[−H, I] rooster

elum giramulum dica ba
el -um giram -ul -um dic -a ba
there from village in from 3SG.bring 1SG be.PRES.1SG.[+h]
Having said that (DM), (it said): "Hey! This is not a rooster of your village; I have brought this rooster from that other village."

56. ese darum čaɣa au eti bim
es -e darum čaɣa au- et -i bim
that.[−H, I] GEN yet talk NEG do 3SG be.PST.3SG.[−H, I]

biiro trak nidili gaarši bi
biiro trak n- i- dili gaarš -i bi
rooster jump PTCP 3SG beat run.IPFV 3SG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
He was still talking when the rooster jumped and ran away.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

57. valum xaa ke , (INAUDIBLE) “ ume ǰa
val -um xaa ke um -e ǰa
fall NMLZ after COMP 2SG ERG 1SG

dook^{h}a[13] kaaṭe aṣu bamaa
dook^{h}a kaaṭe a- ṣu bama =a
deception with 1SG eat be.PST.2SG.[+h] =QM
After having fallen, (it says), “Were you going to eat me with (the help of) deception?”

58. senas xaa ke , loye senimi ...
sen -as xaa ke loi -e sen -imi
say INF after COMP fox ERG say PST.3SG

senimi , “ ese ixatere
sen -imi es -e i- xat -e -re
say PST.3MSG that.[−H, I] GEN 3SG mouth GEN DAT

laanat dila ... amit ... (PAUSE)
laanat dila amit
curse be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II] which.SG.[−H, II]

ixatere t^{h}uu dila
i- xat -e -re t^{h}uu dila
3SG mouth GEN DAT spit be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]

amit ixat bevaxat dišiimi ke ,
amit i- xat bevaxat diši -imi ke
which.SG.[−H, II] 3SG mouth wrong.time open PST.3MSG COMP
Saying so, the fox said, “Cursed be that mouth ... Let that mouth be spat upon, that mouth which opens any time (without control) and ...”

59. senas xaa ke , biiro p^{h}arne[14] sey
sen -as xaa ke biiro p^{h}arne sey
say INF after COMP rooster in.turn say.IPFV

13 Note that *dook^{h}a* is an Urdu loan.
14 It seems *p^{h}arne* is a phonological reduction of *p^{h}ar netin*.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

bi , “ bilkul sahi senuma ,
bi bilkul sahi sen -uma
be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] absolutely right say PST.2SG
Saying so, the rooster says, “You said absolutely right.”

60. senimi , “ ec ilčimucere
sen -imi ec i- lči -muc -e -re
say PST.3SG those.[−H, I] 3SG eye PL GEN DAT

ke laanat dila , ec
ke laanat dila ec
COMP curse be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II] those.[−H, I]

ilčimucere tʰuu
i- lči -muc -e -re tʰuu
3SG eye PL GEN DAT spit

dila amit bevaxat tam mey
dila amit bevaxat tam mey
be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II] which.SG.[−H, II] wrong time close become.IPFV

bi ke ,
bi ke
be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] COMP
It (the fox) said, “Let those eyes also be cursed, let those eyes be spat upon, the eyes which close at any time.”

61. menum kʰeene , matlab kʰot dila
men -um kʰeene matlab kʰot dila
become NMLZ time.GEN meaning this.[−H, II] be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]

insaanere amitulu čaγa zaruurat
insaan -e -re amit -ulu čaγa zaruurat
human GEN DAT which.SG.[−H, II] in talk need

dila ke sahi čaγa dila
dila ke sahi čaγa dila
be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II] COMP right talk be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ke ete čaɣa etas avaaǰi
ke et -e čaɣa et -as avaaǰi
COMP that.[–H, II] GEN talk do INF ought
As that happened (DM), what it means is that when a person needs to talk, what is the right thing to say, one should say that only.

62. bilavaǰa bilazaruuratulu , zaruurat au mey
bilavaǰa bilazaruurat -ulu zaruurat au- mey
without reason without need in need NEG become.IPFV

bi ke et vaxtulu čaɣa etas
bi ke et vaxt- ulu čaɣa et -as
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] COMP that.[– H, II] time in talk do INF

bevaquufi dila ,
bevaquufi dila
foolish be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
Without need … (FRAGMENT), it is foolish to talk when there is no need to.

63. amitulu ke insaanere besen doro …
amit -ulu ke insaan -e -re besen doro
which.SG.[–H, II] in also human GEN DAT what work

ilčimuc baado netin etas
i- lči -muc baado n- et -in et -as
3SG eye PL open PTCP do PTCP do INF

menaas
man -aas
become INF
Whenever a person (wants to do) some work, (he should) do it with eyes wide open.

64. matlab dila insaan hameša hušaar
matlab dila insaan hameša hušaar
meaning be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] human always careful

huruṭas avaaǰi
huruṭ -as avaaǰi
stay INF ought
That means (a) human being should always be careful.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

65. ǰaa doipa ɣaipa alaaqaulu ,
ǰa -e doi -pa ɣai -pa alaaqa -ulu
1SG GEN right (side) side left (side) side place, locality in

haalu , mulkulu , haalu ya mulkulu ,
ha -ulu mulk -ulu ha -ulu ya mulk -ulu
home in country in home in or country in

amli ke besen mey bi ke
amuli ke besen mey bi ke
where COMP what become.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] COMP

insaanere eseṭe nazar manaas avaaǰi
insaan -e -re e- s -aṭe nazar man -aas avaaǰi
human GEN DAT 3SG heart on view exist INF ought
In my locality, at home or in the country, on the right and on the left side, whatever happens anywhere, one should keep an eye on it.

66. ulčimiŋ ṭam netin , ese bar
u- lči -miŋ ṭam n- et -in es -e bar
3PL eye PL close PTCP do PTCP that.[−H, I] GEN talk

cum ikʰar bexabar huruṭas daa ece bariŋ
cum i- kʰar bexabar huruṭ -as daa ece bar -iŋ
from 3MSG self unaware sit INF and those.[−H, I] talk PL

cum , ese cum ke ikʰare (re)
cum es -e cum ke i- kʰar -e
from that.[−H, I] GEN from COMP 3MSG self GEN

bexabar ehuruši , inere bevquuf
bexabar e- huruš -i in -e -re bevquuf
unaware 3SG stay.IPFV 3SG 3SG.[+h] GEN DAT foolish

sey baan
sey baan
say.IPFV be.PRES.PL.[+h]
Having closed one's eyes, unaware of what one has said, and if one chooses to be unaware of such things, people consider such a person a fool.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

A Discussion on Burushaski Language and Grammar

Speakers: Raja Jamsheed Khan and Raja Safdar Ali Khan.

1. SAFDAR] kʰin dasin bo , akʰilne
kʰin dasin bo akʰil -ne
this.[+h] girl be.PRES.3FSG.[+h] such PTCP.do

mii kʰote baašulu , burušaaskiire ...
mi -e kʰote baaš -ulu burušaaski -e -re
1PL ERG this.[−H, II] language in Burushaski GEN DAT

(PAUSE) muimo ese ḍigri haasil
muimo ese ḍigri haasil
her.own that.[−H, I] degree achievement

ečere gene ...
ečˉ -e -re gene
do.IPFV GEN DAT for
This girl is ... Like this, on our language, on Burushaski ... (Pause) to get her degree ... (FRAGMENT)

2. besen, ese, graamar amit dila
besen ese graamar amit dila
what that.[−H, I] grammar which.SG.[−H, II] be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]

ke ... qawaayid amit dila ke ...
ke qawaayid amit dila ke
COMP reader which.SG.[−H, II] be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II] COMP
Whether it is a grammar, or (whether) it is a reader ...

3. qawaayid[15] preeš raq eču bo
qawaayid preeš raq e ču bo
reader prepare desire 3 do.IPFV be.PRES.3FSG.[+h]
She wants to prepare a grammar book.

15 Although *qawaayid*, an Arabic loan, is a plural noun, it is used as a singular noun here.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

4. ete mutalaqan čaɣaa-bar ečan ... (PAUSE)
ete mutalaq -an čaɣaa bar eč -an
that.[–H, II] regarding SG.NDEF talk talk do.IPFV PL
Let us talk about that. (Lit. 'In this regard, let us do talking')

5. JAMSHEED] mii baaše mutalaq
mi -e baaš -e mutalaq
1PL GEN language GEN regarding

graamar (PAUSE) ... kʰuulto xaaṣiŋ ... (PAUSE)
graamar kʰuulto xaaṣiŋ
grammar now until

mene banaa etum , etum , preeš etum
mene banaa et -um et -um preeš et -um
who.SG make do NMLZ do NMLZ prepare do NMLZ
A grammar regarding our language ... (PAUSE). Until now ... (PAUSE) somebody may have made, (somebody) may have prepared (something like that) ... (FRAGMENT)

6. SAFDAR] rikaaḍan api
rikaaḍ -an a- bi
record SG.NDEF NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
(But) there is no record (of it).

7. JAMSHEED] au dimeyalu baan .
au- d- ime- yalu baan
NEG d 1PL hear be.PRES.PL.[+h]
No, we haven't heard (of it).

8. mumkin dila , mii yakal ele , mene ,
mumkin dila mi -e yakal ele men-e
possible be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] 1PL GEN towards there who-ERG

besen sey baan ke ,
besen sey baan ke
what say.IPFV be.PRES.PL.[+h]AI COMP

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

preeš etu bai hiyam , graamar
preeš etu bai hiyam graamar
prepare do be.PRES.3MSG.[+h] perhaps grammar

preeš etu bai hiyam , ke
preeš etu bai hiyam ke
prepare do be.PRES.3MSG.[+h] perhaps COMP

dimeyalu baan veese
d- ime- yalu baan veese
d 1PL hear be.PRES.PL.[+h] I.guess (DM)
It is possible that in our region (Lit. towards our direction), there, somebody, what do they say (DM), has prepared one, (that somebody) has prepared a grammar. We have heard, I guess.

9. SAFDAR] ava , kʰot sahii dila ,
ava kʰot sahii dila
yes this.[-H, II] right be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]

mii-re ... mii bapodaro kʰole
mi -e -re mi -e bapo -daro kʰole
1PL GEN DAT 1PL GEN father PL here

duu baan
duu baan
come.3PL be.PRES.PL.[+h]
Yes, this is right. To us ... (Pause). Our forefathers have come here.

10. mii kʰole hurušumene ... tʰa ke toormi
mii kʰole hurušu -mene tʰa ke toormi
1PL.GEN here stay.IPFV become hundred COMP ten

dencum , bask ii manimi ...
den -cum bask ii man -imi
year from more EMP become PST.3MSG
Here, at our place, having lived here for more than a hundred and ten years ...

11. ke lehaaza miire elum ... cuuŋke ,
ke lehaaza mi -e -re elum čuuŋke
COMP therefore 1PL GEN DAT there since

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

etlumo ,
et -ulu -mo
that.[–H, II] in from
That, therefore, to us, from there (?), since, of that time …

12. et xaa t^{h}um haalaat dilum … muutu
et xaa t^{h}um haalaat dilum muutu
that.[–H, II] time other circumstance be.PST.3SG.[–H, II] now

t^{h}um haalaat dila .
t^{h}um haalaat dila
other circumstance be.PRES.3SG.[-H, II]
At that time there was a certain situation, and now there is a certain (other) situation …

13. es ilaaqa paakistaane kaaṭ dila ,
es ilaaqa paakistaan -e kaaṭ dila
that.[–H, I] territory Pakistan GEN with be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]

mii ilaaqa hindustaan-e kaaṭ dila .
mi -e ilaaqa hindustaan -e kaaṭ dila
1PL GEN territory India GEN with be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
That territory is part of Pakistan, and this territory is part of India.

14. manum cum iciiṭe miire elum mukammal
man -um cum iciiṭe mi- -e -re elum mukammal
become NMLZ from after 1PL GEN DAT there complete

aaaaa … xabar api , ke …
xabar a- bi ke
news NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] COMP
After that, we do not have complete knowledge of it.

15. JAMSHEED] ava
ava
yes
Yes.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

16. SAFDAR] besen sey baan
besen sey baan
what say.IPFV be.PRES.PL.[+h]
What do they say (DM)?

17. JAMSHEED] niyas-ẓuyas band dila
ni -as ẓu -as band dila
go INF come INF capture be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]
Travelling back and forth has stopped.

18. na mii kʰolum ele niču baan ,
na mi kʰol -um ele ni -ču baan
NEG.DM 1PL here from there go IPFV be.PRES.PL.[+h]

na elum kʰole menen ẓuyas uley
na el -um kʰole men -en ẓu -as uley
NEG.DM there from here who SG.NDEF come INF can.IPFV

baan ,
baan
be.PRES.PL.[+h]
We don't go there from here, nor can anyone from there come here (because of travel restrictions).

19. bešal =bešal menen-menen ẓuçu bai ,
bešal bešal menen menen ẓu -çu bai
when RED who.SG who.SG come IPFV be. PRES.3MSG.[+h]

ke oyoon elum , taxpaiŋ ... mii-re leel
ke o- yoon el -um taxpaiŋ mi -e -re leel
COMP 3PL all there from knowledge 1PL GEN DAT knowledge

api
a- bi
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
Whenever (or if ever) anyone comes, everyone from there ... we don't have knowledge (of that).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

20. mene , kʰuulto xaašiŋ , graamaran ele
mene kʰuulto xaašiŋ graamar -an ele
who.SG now until grammar SG.NDEF there

preeš etu bayaa , ayetu
preeš etu bai -a a- etu
prepare do be.PRES.3MSG.[+h] QM NEG do

bayaa ,
bai -a
be.PRES.3MSG.[+h] QM
Until now, whether someone may have produced a grammar there, or may not have (produced one) …

21. ke kʰolee mii piči amit qisme
ke kʰole -e mi -e piči amit qisme -e
COMP here GEN 1PL GEN at which.[−H, II] kind GEN

akʰil ǰuvanan nikirmin kitaaban
akʰil ǰuvan -an ni- girmin kitaab -an
such kind SG.NDEF PTCP write

api …
a- bi
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
That in our possession, any kind of, there is no such written book.

22. SAFDAR] au yeecu baan … mii … (PAUSE)
au- i- yeecu baan mi -e
NEG 3SG see be.PRES.PL.[+h] 1PL ERG
We have not seen (that).

23. JAMSHEED] au yeecu baan
au- i- yeecu baan
NEG 3SG see be.PRES.PL.[+h]
We have not seen (that).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

24. na kʰole mene tei ǰuvanan preeš etu
na kʰole mene tei ǰuvan -an preeš etu
NEG here who.ERG such kind SG.NDEF prepare do

bai
bai
be.PRES.3MSG
(And) neither has anyone prepared such a thing here

25. ke akʰilne-ii mii kʰot baaš
ke akʰil -ne -ii mi -e kʰot baaš
COMP thus PTCP.do EMPH 1PL GEN this.[-H, II] language

amit kʰole dila ke , et buṭ
amit kʰole dila ke et buṭ
which.[−H, II] here be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II] COMP that.[−H, II] much

muutu pʰaalis duvaasi bi
muutu pʰaalis duvaasi bi
now less remain.3SG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
And thus, this language of ours, the language which is (spoken) here, very little has remained of it now (i.e., it has lost many words).

26. baharhaal , tʰa ke toormi den menaase
baharhaal tʰa ke toormi den men -aas -e
somehow hundred COMP ten year become INF GEN

baavuǰuud , mii kʰole , mii haraŋ , kʰot baaš
baavuǰuud mi -e kʰole mi -e haraŋ kʰot baaš
despite.that 1PL GEN here 1PL GEN among this.[−H, II] language

kʰuulto xaašiŋ eču mane baan , ke pʰraš au
kʰuulto xaašiŋ eču mane baan ke pʰraš au-
now until do.IPFV become be.PRES.PL.[+h] COMP vanish NEG

mani bi
mani bi
exist be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
Nevertheless, in spite of a hundred and ten years having passed, in our (place) here, amongst us, (we) have been using this language until now, and it has not disappeared.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

27. agarči buṭ pʰaalis mani bi
agarči buṭ pʰaalis mani bi
although much less exist be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
Although very little (of it) has remained.

28. SAFDAR] buṭ pʰaalis mani bi
buṭ pʰaalis mani bi
much less exist be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
Very little has remained.

29. daa kʰulum baašiŋ (INAUDIBLE) ke ...
daa kʰul -um baaš -iŋ ke
and here from language PL COMP

(INAUDIBLE) urduu dila ke faarsi
urdu dila ke faarsi
Urdu be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II] COMP Persian

dila , ke ... eke buṭ bariŋ , buṭ
dila ke eke buṭ bar -iŋ buṭ
be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II] COMP those.[−H, II] much talk PL much

lafziŋ , amit besen ke ... (INAUDIBLE) beren
lafz -iŋ amit besen ke beren
word PL which.SG.[−H, II] what COMP look

ke muutu “ lafz ” dila
ke muutu lafz dila
COMP now word be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]
And the languages from here (or of this place) – whether it is Urdu or Persian ... and that many things (words?), many words, which is what (DM), (you) see that (the term) “lafz” (word) now is ...

30. amit ǰaa lafz senam ke ,
amit ǰa -a lafz sen -am ke
which.SG.[-H, II] 1SG ERG word say -PST.1SG COMP

kʰot lafz mii baaše
kʰot lafz mi -e baaš -e
this.[-H, II] word 1PL GEN language GEN

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

api
a- bi
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
The word that I said, this word ("lafz") is not from our language.

31. ke miire leel api ki
ke mi- -e -re leel a- bi ke
COMP 1PL GEN DAT knowledge NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] COMP

kʰot lafzere mii baašulu ...
kʰot lafz -e -re mi -e baaš -ulu
this.[–H, II] word GEN DAT 1PL GEN language in
And we do not know that, in our language, (whether there is a native word) for this term.

32. JAMSHEED] mii baašeṭe
mi- -e baaš -e -ṭe
1PL GEN language GEN on
In our language.

33. SAFDAR] daa lafz dilaa ke be
daa lafz dila -a ke be
other word be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] QM COMP no
... whether there is another word (for it) or not.

34. JAMSHEED] ava ! ...(PAUSE)
ava
yes
Yes!

35. mii seya baan kʰole bar seya baan
mi -e seya baan kʰole bar seya baan
1PL ERG say.IPFV be.PRES.PL here talk say.IPFV be.PRES.PL
We say, here we say that a talk ...

36. SAFDAR] Umm
umm
Umm

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

37. JAMSHEED] magar “ bar ” amit dila
magar bar amit dila
but talk which.SG.[–H, II] be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]

ke ... et har dišulu
ke et har diš -ulu
COMP that.[–H, II] every place in
But, (the term) “bar” (‘talking’) as it is, that ... in every place/everywhere ...

38. SAFDAR] bare t^{h}um maane dila besen ...
bar -e t^{h}um maane dila besen
talk GEN other meaning be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] what

bare maane urduulu bi “ baat ”
bar -e maane urdu -ulu bi baat
talk GEN meaning Urdu in be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] talk
The word “bar” has another meaning, what is it ... The word “bar” means “baat” (‘talking’) in Urdu.

39. JAMSHEED] aa
aa
yes
Yes.

40. SAFDAR] magar , “ lafz ” amit dila
magar lafz amit dila
but word which.SG.[–H, II] be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]

ke , lafze gene mii piči ...lafzi
ke lafz -e gene mi -e piči lafz -ii
COMP word GEN for 1PL GEN at word EMPH

api
a- pi
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
But as far as the term “lafz” is concerned, for “lafz” (‘word’), we do not have a (native) word for that.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

41. JAMSHEED] lafz-ii api .
lafz -ii a- pi
word EMPH NEG be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
(There) is no word (for that).

42. ke akʰilne mii kʰot baaš amit
ke akʰil -net mi -e kʰot baaš amit
COMP thus PTCP.do 1PL GEN this.[–H, II] language which.[–H, II]

dila ke buṭ pʰaalis
dila ke buṭ pʰaalis
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] COMP much less

duvaasi bi ,
duvaasi bi
remain be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
And, already, (of) this language of ours, very little has remained.

43. ke , daa ... čuuŋki kʰole mii aaaa ... amit
ke daa čuuŋki kʰole mi -e amit
COMP and since here 1PL ERG which.[–H, II]

sabaq ɣatanu baan ... et urduulu
sabaq ɣatanu baan et urdu -ulu-
lesson learn be.PRES.PL.[+h] that.[–H, II] Urdu in

dila , yaa faarsiilu senu baan , yaa
dila yaa faarsi -ulu senu baan yaa
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II] or Persian in say be.PRES.PL.[+h] or

aŋgreeziilu senu baan ,
aŋgreezi -ulu senu baan
English in say be.PRES.PL.[+h]
And then, because here, aah ... the lessons that we learn, whether that is in Urdu, or whether we have read (that) in Persian or (even) in English ...

44. ke mii kʰote baaš pʰaalis
ke mi -e kʰote baaš pʰaalis
COMP 1PL GEN this.[–H, II] language less

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

dilume			vaǰaṭe ,		zaruurat	vaxtulu		mii			
dilum		-e	vaǰa	-ṭe	zaruurat	vaxt	-ulu	mi	-e		
be.PST.3SG.[–H, II]	GEN		cause	on	need	time	in	1PL	GEN		

itum		baaqi	eke		baašiŋe		
it	-um	baaqi	eke		baaš	-iŋ	-e
here	from	remaining	those.[–H, II]		language	PL	GEN

lafziŋ		miimo	čaɣaalu		čaɣaa-bar		etas	waxtulu	
lafz	-iŋ	miimo	čaɣa	-ulu	čaɣaa-	bar	et -as	waxt	-ulu
word	PL	our.own	talk	in	talk	talk	do INF	time	in

et	ke	istemaal	eču	baan	.
et	ke	istemaal	eču	baan	
that.[–H, II]	COMP	use	do.IPFV	be.PRES.PL.[+h]	

Because of the reason that our language has reduced (in terms of its vocabulary size), at the time of need, in our speech, while talking, we use those (loanwords) also.

45. SAFDAR] sirf toormaanii baan ke *... aaa*
sirf toormaan -ii baan ke
just this.much EMPH be.PRES.PL.[+h] COMP

mii		emik	kʰole	šaayiri	dila		ke	,
mi	-e	emik	kʰole	šaayiri	dila		ke	
1PL	GEN	whatever	here	poetry	be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]		COMP	

šaayiri	, xaaskar	madaahulu		, maslan	, madaahe	
šaayiri	xaaskar	madaah	-ulu	maslan	madaah	-e
poetry	especially	Madah	in	for example.	Madah	GEN

ahlibait	, madaahe	paak	paiɣambar	
ahlibait	madaah	-e	paak	paiɣambar
Ahlibait	Madah	GEN	revered	prophet

sallallahu-alaihi-va-aali-vasallume[16]	mutalaq	amit	šaayiri
	mutalaq	amit	šaayiri
peace be upon him and his family	regarding	which.[–H, II]	poetry

16 Note that *sallallahu-alaihi-va-aalihi-vasallam* is a frozen Arabic borrowing used in reference to the Prophet of Islam.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

mani	bi	ke ,
mani	bi	ke
exist.3SG	be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]	COMP

That is all we have, and whatever poetry is there, or poetry especially like Madah; for example, Madah of the Ahlebait (the Prophet's family), or Madah of the sacred Prophet, peace be upon him and his family … Whatever poetry there is …

46.	et	šaayiriilu		ke	ǰaa	amit	yeeša
	et	šaayiri	-ulu	ke	jaa	amit	i- yeeša
	that.[–H, II]	poetry	in	COMP	1SG	which.SG.[–H, II]	3SG see.IPFV

ba	ke	esulu		buṭpa	lafziŋ	,
ba	ke	es	-ulu	buṭ-pa	lafz	-iŋ
be.PRES.1SG.[+h]	COMP	that.[–H, I]	in	many-lot.of	word	PL

In the poetry I read, there are many words.

47.	JAMSHEED]	tʰum …
		tʰum
		other

Another …

48.	SAFDAR]	tʰum be	xaaskar	faarsi	bicaŋ
		tʰum be	xaaskar	faarsi	bicaŋ
		otherwhat	especially	Persian	be.PRES.PL.[–H, II]

What other languages, they are especially Persian.

49.	JAMSHEED]	faarsi	bicaŋ
		faarsi	bicaŋ
		Persian	be.PRES.PL.[–H, II]

They are Persian.

50.	SAFDAR]	xaaskar	faarsi	bicaŋ
		xaaskar	faarsi	bicaŋ
		especially	Persian	be.PRES.PL.[–H, II]

They are specifically Persian.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

51. JAMSHEED] faarsi bicaŋ ke ... magar ...
faarsi bicaŋ ke magar
Persian be.PRES.PL.[–H, II] COMP but
They are Persian, but ...

52. SAFDAR] ke ... ǰaare ete vaǰa
ke ja -e -re et -e vaǰa
COMP 1SG GEN DAT that.[–H, II] GEN cause

kʰote ɣayeči bi ke ... mii
kʰote ɣayeči bi ke mi -e
this.[–H, II] feel.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] COMP 1PL ERG

uyukurčuku yaa ... miilu ke faarsi
uyum -kurčuku yaa mi -ulu ke faarsi
big PL or 1PL in COMP Persian

zabaane , aŋgreezi ke urdu tʰum , zyaada mii ales
zabaan -e aŋgreezi ke urdu tʰum zyaada mi-GEN ales
language GEN English COMP Urdu other more 1PL that

kʰot miimo tahziibulu faarsi zyaada asar
kʰot miimo tahziib -ulu faarsi zyaada asar
this.[–H, II] our.own culture in Persian more effect

dila ...
dila
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
And to me, the reason for that is ... Our elders, or, here also, the Persian lan (or) English, Urdu, (and) another language ... In our culture, the influence sian is more (than that of other languages).

53. ete ... šaayiriilu han kʰot
ete šaayiri -ulu han kʰot
that.[–H, II] poetry in one.[–H, I] this.[–H, II]

maǰbuuriyan dila
maǰbuuri -an dila
compulsion SG.NDEF be.PRES.3SG.[–H, II]
This is a compulsion in poetry.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

54. šaayar … ummm … sey baan ke
šaayar sey baan ke
poet say.IPFV be.PRES.PL.[+h] COMP

amit waxtulu hin adiibane
amit waxt -ulu hin adiib -an -e
which.SG.[–H, II] time in one.[+h] litterateur SG.NDEF ERG

…(PAUSE) han mazmuunan girmiy
han mazmuun -an girmiy
one.[–H, I] topic SG.NDEF write.IPFV

bai , et waxtulu , alfaaz
bai et waxt -ulu alfaaz
be.PRES.3MSG.[+h] that.[–H, II] time in word

inare ḍiḍkʰaḍ eči
in -e -re ḍiḍkʰaḍ e- či
3SG.[–H] GEN DAT chase 3MSG do.IPFV

bi … sey bi ǰe alta …
bi sey bi je alta
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] say.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] 1SG two.[–H, I]
Poets … *umm* … they say that when a literary person writes an essay, at that time, words chase him and he says, "I, two more …"

55. magar šaayirii waxtulu qalami
magar šaayirii waxt -ulu qalam -ii
but poetry time in pen EMPH

gaarši bi , darbadar imay
gaarši bi darbadar i- may
run.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I] lost 3MSG exist.IPFV

bi ,
bi
be.PRES.3SG.[–H, I]
But when writing poetry, it is the pen that is running, and he (the poet) is lost (helpless).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

56. lafz amit gucʰarči , amit lafz fit
lafz amit gucʰar -č -i amit lafz fit
word which.SG.[−H, II] walk IPFV 3MSG which.SG.[−H, II] word fit

ečam , amit lafz ǰa kʰole eltačam
eč -am amit lafz ja kʰole eltač -am
do.IPFV 1SG which.SG.[−H, II] word 1SG here insert.IPFV 1SG
Any word which works, (he says,) I will fit that word, I will insert that word.

57. manum kʰeene ke , et čiizere
man -um kʰeene ke et čiiz -e -re
become NMLZ time COMP that.[−H, II] thing GEN DAT

nuparenin ... faarsi yaa tʰum altoolum
nu- baren -in faarsi yaa tʰum altoolum
PTCP watch PTCP Persian or other second

zabaane lafz šaayirii ... uyum bar
zabaan -e lafz šaayirii uyum bar
language GEN word poetry big talk

api ,
a- bi
NEG be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
When that happens, whatever entity (thing/word) is available ... whether it is Persian or from another language, it is not a big deal.

58. mii aam baašulu ke kʰose buṭ
mi -e aam baaš -ulu ke kʰos -e buṭ
1PL GEN common language in COMP this.[−H, I] GEN much

asar dila ...
asar dila
effect be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]
In our common language, there is a strong effect of this.

59. ete mutalaq besen seya ba
ete mutalaq besen seya ba
that.[−H, II] regarding what say.IPFV be.PRES.2SG.[+h]
What do you say about this?

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

60. JAMSHEED] bilkul cʰan senuma , ume
bilkul cʰan sen -uma um -e
absolutely right say PST.2SG 2SG GEN.ERG

amit bar senuma ke cʰan senuma
amit bar sen -uma ke cʰan sen -uma
which.SG.[−H, II] talk say PST.2SG COMP right say PST.2SG
What you said is absolutely right; (the thing) that you said, you said it right.

61. har šaayiriilu , mene ke šaayarane šaar
har šaayiri -ulu mene ke šaayar -an -e šaar
every poetry in who.ERG.SG COMP poet SG.NDEF ERG verses

seni ke , amuuman esulu baaqi
sen -i ke amuuman es -ulu baaqi
say 3MSG COMP generally that.[−H, I] in other

baaše lafziŋ ke mey bi
baaš -e lafz -iŋ ke mey bi
language GEN word PL COMP exist.IPFV be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I]
In all poetry, whichever poet has said verses, generally, (there) are words of other language in it.

62. čuuŋki mii baaš kʰole bilkul hii faalis
čuuŋki mi -e baaš kʰole bilkul hii faalis
since 1PL GEN language here absolutely EMPH less

duvaasi bi ,buṭ faalis
duvaasi bi buṭ faalis
remain be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] much less

duvaasi bi , ete gene mii
duvaasi bi ete gene mi -e
remain be.PRES.3SG.[−H, I] that.[−H, I] for 1PL GEN

mene ke akʰil ǰuvanan madahmiŋ senuman
mene ke akʰil ǰuvan -an madah -miŋ sen -uman
who.ERG.SG COMP such kind SG.NDEF Madah PL say PST.PL.[+h]

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

ke	, u	maǰbuur	umanuman			buuṭik	
ke	u	maǰbuur	u-	man	-uman	buuṭ	-ik
COMP	3PL.[+h]	helpless	3PL	exist	PST.PL.[+h]	much	PL

lafziŋ	iti-k^{h}itum		dicuman	
lafz	-iŋ	iti	k^{h}it	-um	dic	-uman
word	PL	here	there	from	3SG.bring	PST.PL.[+h]

Because our language has diminished quite a bit (in terms of its vocabulary), very little remains of it; for that reason, whoever from us reads Madahs, they were helpless, (and) borrowed many words from here and there.

63.

esulum	...
es	-ulum
that.[−H, I]	from

From that ...

64. SAFDAR] eltuman

elt	-uman
insert	PST.PL.[+h]

(They) inserted (the words).

65. JAMSHEED] eltuman ... besen sey baan

elt	-uman	besen	sey	baan
insert	PST.PL.[+h]	what	say.IPFV	be.PRES.PL.[+h]

ke	...
ke	
COMP	

They inserted (the words), what do they say and ...

66. SAFDAR]eltuman , sey baan

elt	-uman	sey	baan
insert	PST.PL.[+h]	say.IPFV	be.PRES.PL.[+h]

They inserted (the words), they say (DM).

67. JAMSHEED] eltuman

elt	-uman
insert	PST.PL.[+h]

They inserted (them).

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

68. SAFDAR] istemaal myimi , eltuman ...
istemaal mey -imi elt -uman
use become.IPFV 3SG insert PST.PL.[+h]
It is used, and they inserted/used (them).

69. JAMSHEED] eltuman ; maǰbuuri dila
elt -uman maǰbuuri dila
insert PST.PL.[+h] compulsion be.PRES.3SG.[−H, II]

maǰbuuri dilum , daa be ečumce ?
maǰbuuri dilum daa be ečumce
compulsion be.PST.3SG.[−H, II] and what do.IPFV.NMLZ.POT
They inserted (them); it is a compulsion, it was a compulsion, what else would they do?

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

References

Abbi, Anvita. 1992. *Reduplication in South Asian Languages: An areal, typological, and historical study.* New Delhi: Allied.

Alam, Muzaffar. 2003. The Culture and Politics of Persian in Precolonial Hindustan. In Sheldon Pollock (ed.) *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 131–198.

Anderson, Gregory D.S. 1997. Burushaski Phonology. In Alan S. Kaye & Peter T. Daniels (eds.) *Phonologies of Asia and Africa* (*Including the Caucasus*). Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1021–1041.

Anderson, Gregory D.S. 2003. Case-Marked Clausal Subordination in Burushaski Complex Sentence Structure. *Studies in Language*, vol. 26 (3): 543–571.

Arsenault, Paul E. 2012. *Retroflex Consonant Harmony in South Asia.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Toronto, Canada.

Backstrom, Peter C. 1992. Burushaski. In Backstrom & Radloff (eds.), 31–54.

Backstrom, Peter C. & Carla F. Radloff (eds.) 1992. *Languages of Northern Areas: Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan*, vol. 2. National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University (Islamabad, Pakistan) and Summer Institute of Linguistics (England).

Bashir, Elena. 2000. A Thematic Survey of Burushaski Research. *History of Language*, vol. 6.1: 1–14.

Bashir, Elena. 2003. Dardic. In George Cardona & Dhanesh Jain (eds.) *The Indo-Aryan Languages.* London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 818–894.

Bashir, Elena. 2004. *Le préfixe d – en Bourouchaski: deixis et point de référence* (French translation of 'The d-prefix in Burushaski: Deixis and viewpoint,' originally presented at the 36th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies [ICANAS 2000], Montreal, 27 August–2 September 2000). In Étienne Tiffou (ed.) *Bourouchaskiana*. Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 113. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 17–62.

Bengtson, J.D. 1991. Notes on Sino-Caucasian. In Vitaly Shevoroshkin (ed.) *Dene-Sino-Caucasian Languages: Materials from the First International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory, Ann Arbor* (8–12 November 1988). Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. Norbert Brockmeyer. 67–129.

Bengtson, J.D. 1992. The Dene-Caucasian Macrophylum. In Vitaly Shevoroshkin (ed.) *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind: Materials from the First International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory, Ann Arbor.* Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. Norbert Brockmeyer. 334–341.

Bengtson, J.D. 1996/1998. Caucasian and Sino-Tibetan: A hypothesis of S.A. Starostin. *General Linguistics*, vol. 36.1/2: 33–49.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Berger, Hermann. 1974. *Das Yasin-Burushaski (Werchikwar): Grammatik, Texte, Wörterbuch* (Neuindische Studien, 3). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Berger, Hermann. 1998. *Die Burushaski-Sprache von Hunza und Nager. Teil I: Grammatik. Teil II: Texte mit Übersetzungen. Teil III: Wörterbuch* (Neuindische Studien, 13). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Biddulph, John. 1880. *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh.* Karachi: Indus (reprinted 1971 and 1977).

Bubenik, Vit. 1996. *The Structure and Development of Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Čašule, Ilija. 1998. *Basic Burushaski Etymologies: The Indo-European and Paleo-Balkanic affinities of Burushaski*. Munich: Lincom.

Čašule, Ilija. 2004. Burushaski-Phrygean Lexical Correspondences in Ritual, Myth, Burial and Onomastics. *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 48(1): 59–154.

Čašule, Ilija. 2010. *Burushaski as an Indo-European Kentum Language: Reflexes of the Indo-European Gutturals in Burushaski.* Munich: Lincom.

Čašule, Ilija. 2014. Names of Plants of Mediterranean and Balkan Origin in Burushaski. *Himalayan Linguistics*, vol. 13(1): 1–8.

Crystal, David. 1994. *An Encyclopedia of Language and Languages.* London: Penguin.

Grierson, George A. 1919. *The Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 8, part II. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing.

Grune, Dick. 1998. *Burushaski. An Extraordinary Language in the Karakoram Mountains*. Pontypridd, Wales, UK: Biddulph.

Hassnain, F.M. 1978. *Gilgit: The Northern Gate of India.* New Delhi: Sterling.

Hock, Hans & Elena Bashir (eds.). 2017. *The Languages and Linguistics of South Asia: A Comprehensive Guide.* Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter.

Holst, Jan Henrik. 2014. *Advances in Burushaski Linguistics.* Tübingen: Narr.

Iverson, Gregory K. & Joseph C. Salmons. 2011. Final Devoicing and Final Laryngeal Neutralization. In Marc van Oostendorp, Collin J Ewen, Elizabeth Hume, & Keren Rice (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Phonology, Vol. III: Phonological Processes*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 1622–1643.

Leitner, Gottlieb. 1889. *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook.* Calcutta: GPO.

Lorimer, David L.R. 1935–38. *The Burushaski Language. I: Introduction and Grammar; II: Texts and Translation; III: Vocabularies and Index.* Oslo: Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning.

Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Masica, Colin P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Masica, Colin P. 1992. *South Asia as a Sociolinguistic Area?* In Edward C. Dimock, Jr., Braj B. Kachru and Bh. Krishnamurti (eds.) *Dimensions of Sociolinguistics in South*

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Asia: Papers in Memory of Gerald Kelley. New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta: Oxford and IBH, 37–46.

Morgenstierne, Georg. 1945. Notes on Burushaski Phonology. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, vol. 13: 61–95.

Morin, Yves-Charles & Étienne Tiffou. 1988. Passives in Burushaski. In Shibatani Masayoshi (ed.) *Passive and Voice* (Typological Studies in Language, vol. 16). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 493–524.

Munshi, Sadaf. 2001. Underlying Representations of the Phonology of Kashmiri Vocalism. Paper presented at the *South Asian Language Analysis Roundtable XXI*, 8–10 October 2001, University of Konstanz, Germany.

Munshi, Sadaf. 2010. Contact-induced language change in a trilingual context: The case of Burushaski in Srinagar. *Diachronica*, vol. 27(1): 32–72.

Munshi, Sadaf. 2016. *Burushaski Language Resource.* A digital collection of Burushaski oral literature. Available at URL https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/BURUS/ [last viewed _].

Munshi, Sadaf & Rajesh Bhat. 2009. Two locations for negation: Evidence from Kashmiri. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook*, vol. 9: 205–239. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rayfield, J.R. 1970. *The Languages of a Bilingual Community.* The Hague: Mouton.

Salmons, Joseph C. & Brian D. Joseph (eds.) 1998. *Nostratic: Sifting the Evidence.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Sherzer, Joel. 1987. A Discourse-Centered Approach to Language and Culture. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 89: 295–309.

Simon, Gary F. & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2017 *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twentieth Edition.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com; last visited 17 May 2018.

Skyhawk, Hugh van. 2003. *Burushaski-Texte aus Hispar: Materialien zum Verständnis einer archaischen Bergkultur in Nordpakistan.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Starostin, S.A. 1984. Gipoteza o geneticheskix svjazjax sinotibetskix jazykov I jenisejskimi i severnokavkazskimi. *Lingvisticheskaja rekonstruktsija i drevnejshaja istorija Vostoka*, vol. 4, 19–38.

Starostin, S.A. 1991. On the hypothesis of a genetic connection between Sino-Tibetan languages and the Yeniseian and North Caucasian languages. In V. Shevoroshkin (ed.) *Dene-Sino-Caucasian Languages*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 12–41.

Tiffou, Étienne. 1993. *Hunza Proverbs.* Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press.

Tiffou, Étienne. 1998. Regional reports; Pakistan: Non Indo-European. In R. Singh (ed.), *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics.* 196–202.

Tiffou, Étienne. 1999. *Parlons Bourouchaski.* Paris: L'Harmattan.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Tiffou, Étienne. 2000. Current Research in Burushaski: A Survey. *History of Language*, vol. 6(1): 15–20.

Tiffou, Étienne & J. Pesot. 1989. *Contes du Yasin: Introduction au bourochaski du Yasin avec grammaire et dictionnaire analytique* [*Yasin folk tales: Introduction to the Burushaski language of Yasin with a grammar and an analytical dictionary*]. Asie et monde insulindien, 16. Paris: Peeters/SELAF.

Tikkanen, Bertil. 1995. Burushaski Converbs in their South Asian and Central Asian areal context. In Martin Haspelmath & Ekkehard König (eds.) *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms – Adverbial Particles, Gerunds.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 487–528.

Tuite, L. 1998. Evidence for prehistoric links between the Caucasus and Central Asia: The case of the Burushos. In Victor H. Mair (ed.) *The Bronze Age and early Iron Age peoples of Eastern Central Asia, vol. 1: Archeology, Migration and Nomadism* (Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph 26). Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man in collaboration with the University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 447–475.

Turner, R.L. 1966. *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages.* Vol. 1. London and New York: Oxford University Press.

Urban, Greg. 1991. *A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture: Native South American Myths and Rituals.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

van Driem, George 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas: An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region.* London, Boston, and Cologne: Brill.

Varma, Siddheshwar. 1941. Studies in Burushaski dialectology" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 7: 132–178.

Willson, Stephen R. 1996. "Verb agreement and case marking in Burushaski". Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session 40: 1–71.

Willson, Stephen R. 1999. *Basic Burushaski vocabulary.* Studies in Languages of Northern Pakistan, 6. Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Zarubin, I. 1927. Veršikskoe nerečie kandžutskodo iazyka. *Zapiski*, vol. 2: 275–364.

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

Index

adjectives 7, 81, 135, 145, 148, 153, 154, 190–4, 200, 201, 203, 204, 229, 230
adverb(s) 7, 107, 113, 115, 117, 119, 188, 190–2, 200, 201
adverbial clause 18, 115, 128
agreement features 6, 78, 101, 158
agreement patterns 6, 18, 87, 89ff
animate/inanimate distinction 79, 86, 89–93, 95, 98–102, 135–6
apheresis 208
Arabic 6n8, 26, 43, 194, 216, 238n, 280n, 291n
aspect (grammatical) 75, 76, 76n, 77, 78, 101, 102, 158, 163, 204
aspiration 5n6, 20, 26, 28, 56, 58, 66, 208
assimilation 41n17, 50–6, 56n24, 61, 67, 143, 144, 211, 213, 214, 219, 226n
auxiliary verb 68, 69, 76, 77, 89, 98, 101, 106n22, 158, 163, 164, 167, 186, 227

Balti (language) 8, 8n13, 12, 13
Baltis (people) 11
Balto-Slavic 4
Bhadrawahi 12
bilingualism 8, 215
Bota Rāja 11
Brokskat 12
Burushaski language
  alternate names for 2n, 3
  dialectology of 4, 206
  genetic affiliations of 3–4
  linguistic classification of 3, 4n3
  phonological typology of 66
  phonology of 1, 5, 19–67, 206
  "Standard Hunza-Nagar" variety 14
Burushaski speakers, number of 1, 2, 3, 9

calques 15, 231, 233, 257n
case marking 18
  ablative case
    different markers of 105, 108, 109
    spatial 109
    temporal 108–10
  absolutive case 6, 7, 68, 70, 73–6, 78, 85n11, 87–90, 93, 95–102, 103n, 145, 146, 172, 217, 223
  accusative case 102
  dative case 68, 75, 78, 88, 89, 93, 99, 100–2, 105, 145, 147, 148, 172, 210, 217, 218, 223, 226n
  ergative case 6, 37, 68, 70, 73–5, 78, 88, 89, 95, 96, 99, 100–2, 145–9, 217, 223
  genitive case 7, 27, 84, 103, 105, 107, 110, 134, 147–9, 152, 194, 201n, 217, 223, 224
  oblique case – *see*: oblique
causative prefix 7, 49n, 171, 173
causativization 7, 61, 79
clause combination 68, 115, 119, 221, 233–6
cliticization 79, 110, 163, 175, 177
clusters, cross-morphemic 43, 44
complementation 88, 93, 94, 103, 115, 121, 122n34, 123, 124, 167, 168
complementizer 115, 121–4, 128, 208
compound nouns 7, 38n6, 194–9, 230
compounding 7, 158, 190, 194, 195, 199, 221, 229
conditional clauses 130, 131, 131n40, 234, 235
conjoined clauses 115
conjunctive participial constructions 131–132, 181–4, 236, 238
consonant clusters 38–41, 53, 53n, 54, 56, 56n23, 67
consonant devoicing 51, 60, 60n, 64–6, 175, 177, 216, 226n
consonantal inventories 5, 19, 27, 66, 209
constituent order typology 68
converbs 131, 182
convergence 8, 13n, 15, 213, 218, 219
coordinating conjunction 115, 116, 120, 121, 233
coordination 119, 119n, 123
correlative pronoun 124

d-prefix verbs 63n33, 101n, 131n41, 159, 159n, 168–170, 170n, 183, 184
degemination 56
demonstrative pronouns 79, 80, 83n, 135, 137, 137n, 138–140, 156, 157, 217, 218, 228
derivational morphology 190–205
determiner 79–81
devocalization 52

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

dialects of Burushaski, lexical differences between 14n, 219ff
discourse marker 115, 118, 119, 123, 188n, 238n, 243n3, 252n

elision 51
embedded clause 115, 121, 128, 233
epenthesis 30, 39, 41–4, 51, 144, 182n13
experiencer 88, 93, 95, 101, 147

focus 70–5, 112, 115, 182, 206
fricative-stop alternation 26, 65

geminates 43
gerund 7, 134, 159, 168, 192
glide insertion 61, 62, 67
grammatical relations 68, 82, 87, 89, 103, 135

hardening – *see*: consonant devoicing
hypercorrection 217

imperatives 25, 29, 37, 46, 48, 52, 58, 62, 159, 170, 177–181, 181n, 212n6, 221
indefinite article 81–3, 155n15, 198, 204
infinitive 7, 7n, 93, 94, 131, 158, 159, 167, 181, 181n, 182, 198
inherently possessed nouns 6, 45, 50, 81, 82, 149, 151–3, 151n13, 220n9
inter-speaker variation 34, 44, 141, 144, 145, 166n, 211, 217–9
interrogative adverbs 112, 113
intra-speaker variation 34, 145

kinship terms 6, 122n35, 145, 149, 151–3, 151n13

language contact 6n7, 8, 8n13, 9, 13–6, 26, 41n16, 45, 47, 67, 115, 185n, 213, 214, 216, 218, 219
language shift 9, 13
lexical borrowing 14, 26, 27, 38, 39, 39n13, 41, 41n16, 43, 58n26, 126n, 131, 151, 156, 190n, 191, 194, 194n5, 197, 204, 215, 216, 220, 220n9, 230, 233, 235, 238n, 257, 291n
literacy 10

modifiers 7, 68, 79–81, 135, 153ff, 155n, 195, 197, 198
monophthongization 215
mood
  dubitative 186–8
  optative 185
  potential 51ff, 67, 200
  presumptive 38ff
multi-argument clauses 100
multilingualism 8–10, 12, 13
mutual intelligibility of Burushaski dialects 3

nasal assimilation 52, 54
nasals, substitution of voiced stops for 203, 216
negation 65, 175–7
negative morpheme, cliticization of 79, 175, 177
nominal agreement 50n, 75, 76, 87, 129n, 137, 226
nominal derivation 7
nominal inflection 135–157
nominalization 7, 182, 191, 192, 194, 196, 197
non-finite constructions 115, 118, 131, 134
noun classes 7, 50, 125, 135–7, 140, 153, 155, 156, 158, 164, 228n
nouns, inherently possessed 6, 45, 50, 66, 81, 82, 149, 151–3, 151n13, 220n9
null morpheme 145, 177, 178
number (grammatical) 68, 75, 81, 98, 125, 135, 141ff, 153, 154, 159, 221

object agreement 158
oblique 27, 68, 70, 73, 74, 89, 99, 100, 103, 103n, 105, 147, 223, 224
observer's paradox 16
obstruents, final neutralization of 56–9

participial constructions 131–4, 181, 182
Persian 8, 8n13, 13, 26, 115, 124, 156, 188, 191, 194, 216, 220n9, 230, 238n
phonemic inventory 5n6, 19, 27, 32
phonological change 51, 65, 143, 159
phonological processes 51ff, 67, 200
phonotactic constraints 36, 44, 54, 56, 208
phonotactics 38ff
phrase structure rules 68
plural marking 141–145, 211, 221
postpositional phrase 5n6, 19, 27, 32

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access

postpositions 33n, 84, 85n10, 86, 103ff, 110, 131, 131n42, 200, 223, 224, 224n
prestige forms 36, 54, 56, 208
pro-drop 68
prohibitives 177ff
pronominal prefixes 145
proverbs 5, 15

quantifier 79, 80, 135, 153
question formation 110ff, 112n, 232
questions, intonation of 112, 231
quotative 123, 124, 236, 237

re-borrowing 14, 217
recipient/beneficiary/goal argument 89, 99
redundant marking 222
reduplicated forms, borrowed 204
reduplication 7, 190, 200ff, 221, 230, 231
  echo reduplication 202n10, 230
relative clause 115, 124, 125, 125n, 127
relative pronouns 80, 115, 117, 124, 125, 135, 137–9, 137n, 156, 157
relativization 124, 125, 125n, 127
retroflexion 52
rhythmic constraints 45

sandhi 44
specifier 68, 79–81, 135, 153, 156
Srinagar Burushaski
  contact-induced changes in 61, 106n25
  innovations in 15, 45
Srinagar Burushos 1, 9, 10n15, 11–14
stress 45–50, 75
subject agreement 101
subordinating conjunction 115, 233
suffixation 6, 6n10, 7, 42, 190ff
svarabhakti 51
syllable structure 18, 19, 35ff
syllable weight 45
syncope 14, 47, 214
syntactic change 229

tag questions 15, 231, 232
  calquing of 231ff

Urdu loanwords 26, 215, 234, 276n13
uvular assimilation 53

verb inflection 6, 137, 158, 221, 225ff, 226
verb morphology 6, 7, 48, 135, 158ff
verb paradigm 158, 159ff, 164
voice alternation 64ff, 96n17
voice assimilation 52, 143, 226n12
volition 87, 89, 90, 93, 102
vowel
  vowel assimilation 61, 211, 213
  vowel clusters 38, 43ff, 67
  vowel deletion 51, 52, 96n16, 181, 207, 208, 217, 218
  vowel epenthesis 41, 43
  vowel harmony 52, 62ff, 65n34, 67
  vowel lengthening 147, 148, 224
  vowel sequences 43, 44, 211, 213–5
  vowel shortening in SB 35

weakening 53n, 54
wh-questions 110, 112ff
word order 69–71, 73–5, 105n, 229, 230

yes-no questions 110ff

zero morpheme 141, 145, 168, 177

Sadaf Munshi - 978-90-04-38789-8
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 10:13:48AM
via free access